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THE ULTRAS

Aims, Affiliations and Finances of the Radical Right

FRED J. COOK

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LETTERS

Is It Time for a New Politics?

Carey McWilliams' "Time for a New Politics," which appeared in our issue of May 26, has elicited much thoughtful comment from our readers. From among the many excellent communications we have received, we have chosen a few which, in our judgment, supplement most significantly Mr. McWilliams' thesis that the United States today is immersed in a politics that has outworn its usefulness.

The material appearing below has been edited somewhat for reasons of space.—EDITORS.

Dear Sirs: At almost every moment of the twentieth century, some American or other has warned that our political institutions are either becoming or already have become outmoded. Carey McWilliams is among the most recent of these advocates of modernity, suggesting that it is science that we now must learn to live with, at least in terms of our political institutions. Surely Mr. McWilliams is right when he suggests that a politics designed to comprehend science has not yet been thought about with enough seriousness in this country. But when one does begin to think about it, a number of other worries intrude.

What is going on in the scientific world today seems to be different in kind from the past spurts of scientific accomplishment. For the first time not life, but death, has become one of the major organizing principles of major scientific activity. The intention is not new, but what is new is the concrete accomplishments of the science of our day. Death is now a genuine possibility. The power of death is — how does one put it? — important. But science does not wield the power of death; it merely understands the mechanisms by which death may be achieved. Presumably that power resides somewhere in the political mechanism whose essential purpose is the management of power. So the novelty of our day is that now science has given to politics the power of universal death. How may the political process incorporate that gross fact?

* * *

Now that science has given us death as a genuine possibility, we must think very hard about life. Pressure from the economy, commitment to superannuated institutions, prejudgments and pieties of all kinds will prevent thought. Clichés will not help, and the Star Spangled Banner contains no hidden clues about the future. Either, as Mr. McWilliams suggests, thought must begin or science's newest gift to mankind may well turn out to be the last mankind will enjoy. So the problem seems to be to find ways by which the political leviathan can be made to rouse itself to significant thought.

Because of the evil of some, the stupidity of some, the fear of some, politicians, as a group, cannot be trusted to begin to think seriously. Individual politicians have thought, of course, and will continue to think about and to urge change. But as politicians they must labor under the handicap of public responsibility. I am suggesting that accountability to an electorate is not the best situation for serious thought. The public, whatever that is, may or may not be ready to have its collective skin saved. But should it, on that account, be condemned to the death it does not envision? Just how does democratic theory relate to the politics of science?

It is clear that as knowledge becomes increasingly specialized, fewer citizens will be able to make their way to a state of understanding. It is also clear that as knowledge, now in the form of one or another of the physical sciences, addresses itself to the dark powers of death while it is ominously dumb about matters of life, it is simply more important to keep it under humane management. The problems in managing the power that science has given to men are therefore not different from the problems with which politicians have typically been faced. Wisdom and *humanitas* are no more, but no less, essential now than they were when the industrial revolution was under way or when Achilles pouted in his tent; but it is wrong to assume that because the past managed to live through its crises, we will manage equally well.

What is different is that there is now an urgency that has never before been experienced. Decision may not be ours. We may be forced to react, not act. And a national plebiscite would throw light only on what the ordinary citizen thinks, and might illuminate the problem as such not at all. How does one know in advance that *vox populi, vox dei* is actually now the case? No longer can we afford the nineteenth century's wonderful willingness to make mistakes in policy in the name of democracy. The stakes are now, obviously, too high.

But surely, one is entitled to ask, is not any abridgment of the democratic process more dangerous than any possible consequent advantages could justify? At any other moment I would have agreed, but now we know that significant political change is an essential pre-

(Continued on page 606)

SUMMER SCHEDULE

With the next issue, which will be dated July 14, *The Nation* begins its alternate-week summer schedule.

In This Issue

THE ULTRAS:
Aims, Affiliations and Finances of the Radical Right
by FRED J. COOK

565 • Editors' Note
565 • Part I: Respectable and Radical
571 • II: Home of the Locusts
580 • III: Oil for the Radical Right
589 • IV: The Idea Factories
596 • V: The Road to Fascism
602 • VI: "Stand Up and Be Counted"

Crossword Puzzle (opp. 608)
by FRANK W. LEWIS

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THE ULTRAS . . by Fred J. Cook

EDITORS' NOTE: Several considerations prompted our decision to assign Fred J. Cook to prepare this special report on the Ultras. In the last two years, numerous feature articles and one or two TV documentaries have been devoted to the subject, but no attempt has been made to pull together, in one place, all the known facts. In addition, *The Nation* had accumulated over a period of years a large and intriguing mass of materials about the Radical Right which, in our judgment, needed to be synthesized with the published facts.

But we had another motive in mind. There has been a marked tendency to dismiss the Radical Right as "ludicrous"—a characterization used by Attorney General Robert Kennedy. The tendency is understandable: it is easy to ridicule the Ultras, and the John Birch Society has been a windfall for night-club comics and cartoonists. But the fact is that the mass media's eagerness to play up the more flamboyant aspects of the Ultra movement has diverted public attention away from what is new and significant in it. Here is not merely another attack of an old malady which we have known and survived many times in our history. As William K. Wyant, Jr., pointed out in the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, the Radical Right today is "far better organized, better financed and more skillfully led than in the so-called McCarthy period of the early 1950s"—or, for that matter, in the manifestations of the same sickness in the thirties. Today's Ultra movement has many factors working for it that were not present in earlier periods.

A major purpose of this issue, then, is to provide a frame of reference by which the reader may make his own assessment of today's Radical Right as a threat or potential danger. Enough is known about the phenomenon to make such a judgment—and now is the time to make it.—EDITORS.

About the Author

Fred J. Cook, born in Point Pleasant, N. J., in 1911, graduated Phi Beta Kappa from Rutgers University in 1932. After working on various New Jersey newspapers, he went to the New York *World-Telegram* in 1944. In 1959 he resigned to devote himself exclusively to writing.

Mr. Cook's first "special" for *The Nation* was "Hiss" (1957); there followed "The FBI" (1958), "The Shame of New York" (1959), "Gambling Inc." (1960), "The CIA" (1961) and "Juggernaut" (1961). Three of these articles won Page One Awards from the New York Newspaper Guild; a fourth won a Sidney Hillman Foundation Prize. Mr. Cook has had ten books published and is now expanding "Juggernaut" into a book to be published by Macmillan under the title *The Warfare State*.—EDITORS.

PART I RESPECTABLE AND RADICAL

MIDYEAR 1954 was a time of yeasty ferment on the Radical Right. Senator Joe McCarthy had committed the incredible indiscretion of crossing swords with the U.S. Army in his hunt for subversives; but he was still rampaging across the land and the *banderilla* he sported was not yet visible to the myopic eyes of men. The Eisenhower administration had brought grass-roots Republicanism back to Washington for the first time in twenty years; but the anticipated millenium had not developed. The ten-percenters had been banished temporarily from the temple and vicuna coats had not yet appeared; but Big Government obviously was just as big as ever, and the Republicans, incredibly, were spending just as many billions just as joyously as ever the Democrats had. Social Security was still with us; so was the graduated income tax; so was the host of foreign problems so agonizingly epitomized by the frustrating Korean War. In short, the clock had not been turned back. We were still in the twentieth century and Eisenhower Republicanism gave no indication of leading us out of it.

This, to the faithful, was a most distressing state of affairs, and workers in the vineyards of the Radical Right were as active as bees in the hive seeking two cherished goals: a means of polarizing all the forces of the Right into a new political party; and "a leader" possessed of the glamour that would make amalgamation inevitable and that would insure control of the American body politic. A fantastic dream? Perhaps. But before one decides let's take a look at the inside of the beehive.

In June, 1954, a Californian of decided rightist tendencies set out on a cross-country journey that was to take him to Chicago, New York and Washington. After his return, he wrote a memorandum headed "Confidential Please" and which contained at the end the further admonition "VERY CONFIDENTIAL." This memorandum, placed in envelopes displaying the name and return address of the sender — Hubbard S. Russell, P.O. Box 399, Maricopa, California — was mailed to a supposedly select clientele; but one of its recipients, startled by some of its contents, failed to keep the secret. The result was that a copy of this document, with its fascinating inside-the-hive view of the fer-

JUN 20 '62

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ment on the Right, came into the possession of *The Nation*. For anyone then or now who might be inclined to dismiss the forces of the Radical Right as a fringe element in American life, the Russell memorandum is a recommended study, for its contents make clear that the fringe with which the California traveler dealt was the fringe very close to the top.

Introducing the Cast

Hubbard Russell, proprietor of the Rancho Cuyama and a cattleman all his life, cast his first Presidential vote for William Howard Taft and, as he himself says, "will always regret that I was cheated by the 'King Makers' out of voting for his son Robert in 1952." He is still doing "all I can in re-establishing Constitutional Government as it was until wrecked by the 'New Dealers' and 'Me Tooers,'" and one of his principal objectives in his cross-continent tour of 1954 was to rally support for a Far Right group called For America, in which J. Bracken Lee, the strongly rightist former Governor of Utah, was one of the moving spirits.

The purposes of For America, "a committee for political action," were spelled out in its manifesto. In bold type, it trumpeted "The Disaster We Face," and it added: "International leadership has captured both parties. Internationalist policies undermine American Independence, threaten us with bankruptcy, involve us in FOREIGN WARS and are destroying our liberty." For America advocated repeal of the income tax, getting the United States out of the U.N., ending "foreign bribery by giveaways," elimination of all government competition with private enterprise, support of Congressional investigations "into Communist-Socialist activities," the end of "compulsory unionism" and the eradication of "socialism in America."

If some strains of the America Firsters of pre-World War II seemed to show in these objectives, it was hardly an accident, for the leaders of For America were men long connected with ultra-rightist causes. Its co-chairmen were Clarence E. Manion, former dean of Notre Dame Law School and long an agitator, through his "Manion's Forum," of the causes of the Right, and Maj. Gen. Robert E. Wood, retired, former president of Sears, Roebuck & Co. A powerful well-wisher was Colonel Robert McCormick, publisher of the ultra-conservative and isolationist *Chicago Tribune*.

All of these forces that merged in the sponsorship of For America were represented at the luncheon with which Hubbard Russell opened his missionary tour. He recorded in his memorandum that on June 16, 1954, he had "Luncheon meeting with For America Group, Incorporated." Present, he noted, were "Judge Clarence Manion and wife," a reporter and executive of the *Chicago Tribune*, two other prominent members of For America and two executives of the American Meat Institute. The objectives of For America, Russell wrote, "appealed favorably to me," as they did indeed to the two big meat packers, and he predicted that "a lot will be heard" about this organization.

On June 18, Russell and an associate whom he identified as "Dr. Butler of Ithaca" had a conference with Colonel McCormick. The Californian was ecstatic. "McCormick is a great American," he wrote. "His type is hard to find today. His main object in life today is to try to save America from its rush to ruin." The note of desperation, of embattled patriots struggling desperately to ward off the legions of evil, here introduced for the first time, was to become the deepening theme song of the memorandum as its author traveled on and reported on his further contacts.

After talking with Orville Taylor, a Chicago banker whom he described as one of the For America incorporators, Russell went to New York, where, on June 23, he reported: "I talked with General Wedemeyer and Mr. Hoover. . . . A lot of what General Wedemeyer and Mr. Hoover said to me is off the record. Both are plainly uneasy and greatly disturbed. . . . I am misplacing no confidence when I say they both, like McCormick, are interested in anything that can save America."

Gen. Albert C. Wedemeyer, who once commanded the China-Burma-India theatre and served as Chiang Kai-shek's chief of staff, has long been a stalwart of the Right. In recent years, he was for a time an adviser for *American Opinion*, the organ of Robert Welch, founder of the John Birch Society, and he now serves on the board of the American Security Council, dominated by powerful Midwestern industrialists and retired, high-ranking Brass. By 1954, General Wedemeyer had long been a hero of the Right, and he referred the emissary from California to a number of kindred spirits whom he should try to see.

The list included: George Sokolsky, the Hearst columnist; Raymond Moley, the soured brain-truster of early Roosevelt days who ever since has been a favorite columnist of the Right; General Leslie Groves, who headed the wartime Manhattan Project that developed the A-bomb and who had since become, along with Gen. Douglas MacArthur, an executive of Remington Rand; Jeremiah Milbank, a New York banker; and Richard Berlin, president of Hearst publications. The visitor from California couldn't contact them all in person, but he reported on his valiant efforts to discuss the saving of America by telephone with those whom he couldn't get to see.

Developing the Themes

From these talks, principal themes developed. Russell discussed with all his contacts the prospect of the "realignment" of political parties. He was also an ardent advocate of the "flexible" farm price-support program of Ezra Taft Benson, Eisenhower's Secretary of Agriculture—a plan that Wall Street interests were hailing as "realistic" because it would tend ultimately to get rid of the little farmer, now an economic anachronism, and concentrate crop-growing in multi-thousand-acre holdings that alone, in this mechanized age, were economically feasible.

In his memorandum, Russell reported that the Benson farm plan became the principal topic of his discussion with Berlin, the Hearst executive, who "is much interested in anything that will regain the American form of government." The publisher had been surprised to be informed, he reported, "that Benson

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had real farm support." Berlin indicated "news releases out of Washington apparently were unreliable" and said he was going to see Benson personally, with his own reporters present. Here was registered another note so precious to the dedicated Right—the conspiracy theory of history, so essential because it alone can explain how things have gone so wrong. Commenting on Berlin's remark about the untrustworthiness of Washington news channels, the Californian wrote: "This indicates that what many believe is true, i.e., that news releases out of Washington are not reliable, and that many are New Deal left-wing slanted."

The indefatigable worker in the rightist vineyard had more conferences in New York. One was with Ben Tate, of Cincinnati, who had been a key figure in managing the late Senator Robert O. Taft's campaign for the 1952 Republican Presidential nomination. Tate told him of conversations he had had with Taft before the Senator died. On one occasion, he said, Taft had remarked that, if he had followed "Hub" Russell's advice about the tactics to be used in securing the key Texas delegation, he would have been nominated and elected. After receiving this gratifying intelligence, Russell discussed the problems of the hour with Victor Emanuel, president of Avco Manufacturing Co., "who was very close to Taft" and "is another man of prominence who is keenly interested in restoring our American form of government."

This lost heritage, of which presumably most Americans remain unaware, remained an ever-present bugbear in the mind of the Californian as he traveled on June 25 to Washington. Here he lunched, he reported, with Secretary Benson and some of his top aides. Here he met and discussed Benson's farm plan with a whole bevy of Congressmen, helping to line up support for it. By his own account, he met everybody who was anybody in the conservative camp: Senator William F. Knowland of California; Senator Barry Goldwater, "who is an outstanding, courageous young Senator"; the late Senator Pat McCarran, of Nevada; Senator Harry Byrd of Virginia; Senator John W. Bricker, of Ohio; Vice President Richard M. Nixon; David Lawrence and Nobel Robinson of *U.S. News & World Report*; and Fulton Lewis, Jr., whose radio voice has for years fostered the neuroses of the Right.

Scorched Earth Policy

> Most of those interviewed talked about realignment [the Russell memorandum reported]. All were bothered about the present situation. McCarran suggested a caucus of a few Republicans and Democratic leaders at the right time. That Fabian Socialists, working through the A.D.A. and such organizations, are the shield of communism in this country. He further said the Fifth Amendment Communists hide behind the law they would destroy. In speaking further of realignment, the Senator said that perhaps it was time to call a conclave of 25 to 50 leading Republicans and Democrats to discuss the whole idea off the record. In order to have any kind of realignment, he said: "First, we need a leader (not yet in sight), money and proper organization."
>
> . . . Byrd said the socialistic trend is still progressing, mentioning increase in Social Security coverage as all wrong. . . .

Knowland, whose political ambitions were soon to founder on the rock of right-to-work anti-unionism, seemed "a little bit on edge," Russell reported. He "said he didn't believe in compromising on many of these issues. His stand since on Red China, United Nations membership seems good to me, except I favor dropping United Nations now."

With Fulton Lewis, Jr., Russell had a fine meeting of minds. He reported that when he remarked "the Democrats lost their party years ago, and now the Republican Party (he interjected and said what Republican Party?). Truly he is disgusted. Said he sees the messes daily, talks and writes about them daily and sometimes feels 'My God, what's the use?' He will be helpful whenever we need him."

In summarizing his impressions from all these high-level contacts, the Californian recorded with obvious satisfaction:

> Whenever one of us would say, "the country is ready for a fighting leader," these officials and Congressmen and Senators seemed to agree. . . . It appears that a great many people, such as most of those interviewed, are still looking for leadership, and that they are pretty badly disgusted and disappointed. . . . To a man, they are worried about spending, high taxes, unbalanced budgets and foreign relations. Many expressed worry because so many Truman-Acheson holdovers are still formulating a lot of policy. Some said the wrong men were still advising and no apparent way to stop it. . . .

Two Faces of the Right

Revealed in this memorandum are the lineaments of the Respectable Right and the Radical Right. Revealed, too, is the fact that on many essential elements of creed the two are inseparable and indistinguishable. Transparent in the peregrinations and confabulations of Hub Russell is the union of belief and prejudice that weds Respectable and Radical in modern-day America. Both are at war with their century, with the whole trend of popular government during the last thirty years. For both, representative government has degenerated into virtual mobocracy, and the purity of the American system, as they conceive it, has been lost. The diehard conservative, like the man of the Radical Right, has yet to reconcile himself to the Roosevelt reforms of the 1930s. He is shocked at the extension of Social Security. High federal budgets (except for military expenditures) are anathema to him. The world beyond our borders is a vast and menacing and overwhelmingly hostile conspir-

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acy. Red China is an abomination whose existence is not to be recognized. We have been duped into participating in the United Nations as an experiment in international cooperation, in one-worldism, and we should get out of it as soon as possible. Our two major parties, both captured by hostile forces, have subverted the true conservative faith and have produced the kind of liberal legislation that is equated with a Fabian socialism—itself only a thin veneer for communism. All of this has happened largely as the result of some grandiose, secret conspiracy in which newsmen, most of whom work for ultra-conservative publishers, have somehow managed to defy and hoodwink their bosses—and so to purvey a steady stream of leftist propaganda out of Washington, deluding the public.

Such are the conceptions of reality in the world of the twentieth century that are embraced jointly by the minds of the Respectable Right and the Radical Right. Not all minds, obviously, hold all the same tenets; but so many embrace so broad a spectrum of such beliefs that the interests of the Respectable Right and the Radical Right merge in one overriding desire — the hope of finding a formula to turn back the clock. This is a pursuit to which the millionaire businessman, the publishing tycoon, the personable politician and the Radical Right devote equal meeds of loyalty. The so-called Respectables stop short of the idiocy —but sometimes only barely short— of labeling as dedicated Communists such distinguished Americans as Eisenhower. But they frequently adopt, on lower levels where the idiocy is less obvious, the Radical Right's theory of conspiracy and the witch-hunt methods that hobble thought in a free society. For the Respectable Right, the Radical Right may be an embarrassment, but it is also an invaluable mouthpiece—the frenzied front man of propaganda playing on the emotions of the public and driving it in fear and panic toward that basic body of rightist beliefs which the Respectables and the Radicals jointly hold.

This identity of the idiotic with the sane, the respectable with the radical, has been demonstrated many times and in many ways. The trauma of the Right has become perhaps most visible in the public wrestling with conscience to which the Radicals have subjected some of the most personable of the political Respectables. Arch-conservatives like Senator John Tower, of Texas, and Senator Barry Goldwater, of Arizona, have to live a public paradox; they must retain their own responsible postures without disowning or discrediting their irresponsible cohorts.

Walking the Tightrope

Senator Tower appeared on *Open End* with the liberal Republican from New York, Senator Jacob Javits, and with two propagandists of the Radical Right, Phoebe and Kent Courtney of New Orleans. To the Courtneys, the Supreme Court of Earl Warren is an arm of the Communist apparatus. They spout statistics about the number of times the Supreme Court has followed the Communist Party line in its decisions. Jacob Javits listens, then asks what factual basis there is for such statements, what standard is being used. It promptly develops that there is no basis, there is no standard except a self-made judgment in the Courtneys' minds. Javits comments that, to him, this is like Alice in Wonderland. Senator Tower listens to it all and, for two hours, with consummate skill, he walks a tightrope without falling off. His position was that he could not altogether agree with his conservative friends, the Courtneys, but on the other hand you couldn't play down this Communist menace, you know.

The predicament of Barry Goldwater was even more ludicrous. The charm boy of the Far Right, Goldwater has been nursing some transparent Presidential ambitions; and because he has, newsmen have been curious to discover how he felt about the radical and authoritarian John Birch Society. Robert Welch, the candy man who created the society and dictates what its members should think, has proclaimed Eisenhower, the Dulles brothers, former President Truman and other eminent figures either Communists or dupes; and he has made the impeachment of Earl Warren such a stirring battle cry that his more rabid followers sometimes get carried away and shout that Warren should be lynched or hanged.

How, newsmen kept wanting to know, did Barry Goldwater feel about all this? At first Barry Goldwater didn't feel at all; he said flatly he didn't intend to discuss the John Birch Society. But as the storm over the Birchers grew in intensity and as public-opinion polls indicated the American people were beginning to frown on such extremism, it became obvious that so lofty a pose wouldn't do; and so Barry Goldwater hit upon about as neat an eat-your-cake-and-have-it-too device as any politician ever engineered. Robert Welch, he proclaimed, was an irresponsible man who was doing harm by his extremism and he should be supplanted as the leader of the Birchers. But as for the Birchers themselves, Barry Goldwater wasn't going to say a thing against them; he knew some of them and they were very fine people. And besides, the Birchers represented no danger to the country; the thing really to worry about was those extremists on the Left, those Americans for Democratic Action bigwigs who had insinuated their way into the White House as advisers to President Kennedy. *They* were the real menace.

Schizophrenic Right

In such sophistries, the schizophrenia of the Right becomes apparent. It is essential to maintain the face and posture of the Respectable, but the mouthings of the Radical are vital to continued existence. This is true not just for the politician, who must beware of alienating bloc votes, but even for the great media of information that have no such possible self-justification. It is difficult to see how any sane man can conceive today that the Communist Party represents an ever-present danger to the Republic. Even in its balmiest days, American communism could claim the allegiance of only a handful of Americans and, at the polls, was impotent as a kitten. Now even this handful of followers has been reduced to a thimbleful, and the suspicion exists, as the *Saturday Evening Post's* Harold H. Martin scrupulously pointed out in an article on May 19, 1962, that a sizable

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percentage of even this tiny Communist membership is composed of J. Edgar Hoover's own chosen FBI informers. Yet what did the *Post* make of all this? A continuing and ever-present menace.

"The Communist Party has declined in numbers," it commented editorially, "but as Harold Martin points out . . . it is still a deadly and dangerous enemy. The peril to the Republic was never greater, and it was never more imperative that we see the Communist menace in its true light."

The Influential Irrationals

The *Post* then flailed away at the Radical Right for its irrationalities. This hunting of a Communist under every bed, this branding of virtually every major American leader of the past decade, was very divisive, very bad; it distracted loyal Americans from the real danger. For these sins of the Radical Right, the *Post* in an amazing tour de force of logic found the liberals responsible. It cited "serious inroads into Government" made by Communists in the past, and it continued:

> The blind refusal of certain liberals to believe the evidence of this penetration aided and abetted the radicals of the right. People who called themselves intellectuals refused to be persuaded by the overwhelming evidence against Alger Hiss. . . . The important point then and now is that we must believe the facts, but evidence is something that extremists of the right and left have never been impressed by. They are so emotionally committed to their political prejudices that they believe what they want to, rather than what the facts disclose.

The intellectual poverty of the Respectables was probably never better demonstrated than in this performance of the highly respectable *Post*. Writing more than a month after Richard Nixon had committed the surprising feat in *Six Crises* of casting serious doubts on the validity of the Hiss case ["Nixon Kicks a Hole in the Hiss Case," *The Nation*, April 7], the *Post* gave no indication that it had heard or was in a mood to examine the facts and so avoid the sin it attributed to others. For it, the Hiss case must stand for all time as a symbol of the Communist penetration of government; and though the *Post* might lash out at the excesses of the Radical Right, it must still preserve the climate in which the Radical Right was born, it must still cherish the myth of internal menace, it must still have it that "the peril to the Republic was never greater."

By such tenacious cuddling of old shibboleths is the vacuum on the Right exposed. Take away from it its cherished menace and it is a desiccated skeleton. It has no program except the program of opposition. It hasn't had for thirty years. In the election of 1936, the Right tried to convince the American people that Social Security was a fraud, the product of a foreign "ism," and that it would lead to such regimentation that we would soon be wearing numbers like dog tags around our necks. In the medicare battle of 1962, one hears virtually the same moth-eaten charges. In 1938, we were told that the forty-hour week would destroy American manhood, that no man who was a Man could survive as a Man if he labored only a puny forty hours a week; in the world of automation in 1962, with unemployment increasing after each recession, the refrain has not changed one iota. In the 1930s, fighting the New Deal, the Respectable Right and the Radical Right raged about foreign "isms" taking over and subverting the pure American form of government; in the turmoil and tension of the 1960s, both the Respectable Right and the Radical Right must magnify the defanged and clawless Communist domestic tiger into a genuine and never-ending menace. It becomes obvious that, if the menace should ever be dispelled, the whole rightist house of cards would be in danger of imminent collapse.

Nurturing the Faith

The deed, it might seem, should be simple, but it isn't. The persistence of the mythical menace, the dedication of the Right to the aura of the witch hunt, the cyclical eruption of the Right in ever more strident tones, all stand as testament to the power of the forces that nourish and nurture the faith.

The history of the postwar era seems to indicate that the Radical Right is here to stay for a long time. About the Truman administration, the Respectables and the Radicals combined to drape such slogans as "Twenty Years of Treason" and the "Truman-Acheson-A.D.A. Cospiracy." Then McCarthy picked up the gauge of battle and rode with the witch hunters to national and international prominence. By the end of 1954, McCarthy's excesses had reaped their own retribution; for a brief period, the movement sputtered and faltered—but it did not die. The For America drive, of which Hub Russell had expected such great things, failed to catch fire. The time was not ripe. After all, the Republicans had put Father in the White House, and who could quite believe in the reality of The Menace when Father, that most benign of men, was there minding the store?

It was a frustrating but not a fatal pause. The Right does not give up its Menace that easily. All those forces with which Hub Russell had made contact on his missionary Odyssey remained as active as ever—and of the same mind. Multi-million-dollar business interests wanted no more governmental interference, no more regulation, no more costly liberal legislation; potent publishers who help to mold the public mind were influenced by a similar animus; politicians, responsive to both their desires and, in the South, startled by the racial issue, joined in the drive to get back to something we had allegedly lost. Wedded to all this was an American fundamentalism that traditionally has seen only evil in foreign devils and that now, confirmed in its faith by the cold war, wanted nothing so much as to retreat behind our oceans into the world of the nineteenth century.

Bankrolled by business, fortified by racism and international tensions, the Radical Right revived. Robert Welch formed his John Birch Society with the cooperation of potent figures in the National Association of Manufacturers. Fred Schwarz wedded fundamentalist religion and anti-communism in his Christian Anti-Communism Crusade. The Rev. Billy James Hargis added to the same concoction the selling of a patented cradle-to-the-grave medical nostrum and roared about The Menace from the platforms of his Chris-

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tian Crusade. Eminent foundations, bankrolled by industrial millions, engaged their own eggheads to indoctrinate the nation's Military in the true radical faith; soon, retired admirals and generals were being trotted out on Radical Right rostrums to dignify with their braid the ravings of the crusaders. Then Father left the White House. Young and vigorous and potentially dangerous John F. Kennedy supplanted him, proclaiming a mild liberalism that he had labeled the New Frontier; and with this accession to power of a man who dared to tread on the sacred preserves of even the American Medical Association, the hounds of doom let loose with a baying that has filled the nation with sound and fury from coast to coast.

It has been a great blessing in disguise. With Robert Welch labeling even Eisenhower a "dedicated" Communist, with the Respectable Right floundering for a way of disassociating itself from such idiocies without abandoning its menace-methodology, the architecture of the Right began to emerge from the fog of suspicion and distrust in which for so long it had obscured itself, and its skeletal framework stood out stark in the public view. The ties of the Respectable Right to the Radical Right, which it has been so responsible for spawning, emerged with an indissoluble clarity, so undeniable that even the Right itself was moved at times to tacit admission.

Appeal to Reason

Perhaps the frankest recognition came in the wake of a new report on communism in America by the Rev. John F. Cronin, S.S., Associate Director of the Department of Social Action of the National Catholic Welfare Conference. In an earlier report in 1947, Father Cronin had played a major role in calling public attention to Communist domination of major labor unions and Communist infiltration of some academic and governmental bodies. In his 1962 report, he accurately noted the contrast between then and now, reported the virtual demise of domestic communism and commented sharply on the paradox that, just when the internal threat was least important,

Americans in droves were becoming the most agitated about it.

> Well financed and well attended crusades, which would have been manna from heaven in 1946, are increasingly evident [he wrote]. Speakers and writers for such groups are vigorously fighting problems that were mostly solved by 1950. . . . In many parts of the country, hysteria and suspicion are becoming increasingly evident. A virulent form of disunity is weakening us in the world struggle against communism, and performing this disservice in the name of militant anti-communism.

Father Cronin then analyzed the frustrations that nourish the current witch hunts—the prolonged tensions of the cold war which so often the Communists seem to be winning, the continued burden of oppressively high taxes, the shocking Russian breakthrough with Sputnik in 1957 and the continued Russian supremacy in the power and thrust of their missiles. To many Americans everything seems to have gone wrong since 1945, when America stood virtually unchallenged as the mightiest military power in the world; and the simple, pat explanation is that none of this could have happened unless we had been betrayed. Yet sowers of such beliefs

> . . . are more than dishonest, they are divisive [Father Cronin wrote]. They weaken our democracy by spreading suspicions of treason in government and asking Americans to use Communist tactics against fellow Americans. If carried far enough, these movements would paralyze American diplomacy. When every discussion with the Communist powers is considered a sign of weakness or even treason, then we are left with only two stark alternatives: surrender or war. Surely our common sense should tell us that we should seek some middle course between these extremes.

The Catholic Cleavage

This appeal to reason by an eminent Catholic spokesman created a storm of unreason on the Right. To acknowledge Father Cronin's sound common sense would have been to concede that Respectables and Radicals occupied reverse sides of the same coin. This dilemma was frankly acknowledged by Dr. J. Lorac, writing in *The Wanderer,* national Catholic weekly published in St. Paul, Minn.:

> Who are the "extremists" attacked by Father Cronin? Judging from the release, "extremists" are those who frown on forced unionism; who criticize foreign aid to Communist and Socialist countries; who point to the failures of the United Nations; who fear that the Federal Government is leading the country to Socialism; who believe that the danger of Communism is more internal than external, etc. If this be so, then we must conclude that all Conservatives, including many prominent members of the Catholic Hierarchy, are "extremists" who should be denounced as "dishonest and divisive." . . .

Lorac's formula for avoiding this hard choice was to denounce Father Cronin's analysis as "preposterous" and to insist upon the validity in all its most hideous forms of the domestic Communist menace.

This sharp cleavage in Catholic

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ranks is only one symptom of the deep divisions that have been produced in the American public by Radical Right propaganda bankrolled by the Respectable Right. Because the cleavage is so deep and so obvious, the first half of this partnership has attracted wide attention in the mass media. Much publicity has been given to the wild irresponsibilities of Robert Welch, the public California frenzies of Schwarz. Most such treatments, however, deal with the Radical Right of 1962 as an isolated phenomenon comparable to the Know-Nothings and the Ku Kluxers of the past. Most assume that such fanaticism will in the end devour itself and fade away. This has happened frequently in our history; it might be expected to happen again, except that there is a vital difference between the extremism of today and the extremism of the past. Extremists of the past were far-out fanatics with no broad, responsible base in American society. This can hardly be said of the extremists of 1962. They have behind them the power, the prestige and the wealth of the Respectables.

Just how much power and prestige and wealth will be the principal subject of this essay. Hub Russell's evangelical mission has served as an introductory peek into all the sources of power and influence that are involved in the intertwined complex of the Right. Some idea of the extent and power of such right-wing combinations may be gleaned from the statement of Professor Alan F. Westin, of Columbia University, that "a cautious estimate—based on recent surveys of annual corporate donations and published gifts to the Radical Right—would show that the business community contributed *about $10 million to the Radical Right last year.*" That is a lot of money, and it buys a lot of propaganda and influence, especially in a nation in which there stands against it no comparable counterforce.

The disparity is glaringly apparent to most political commentators. Peter Edson, columnist for the Scripps-Howard press, has noted, for example, that fifty right-wing organizations maintain "national headquarters or active lobbying and public relations offices in Washington." Most apparently are well financed in significant contrast to the poverty of the Left, in which "not even Americans for Democratic Action can be called affluent." The results of such concentrated right-wing financing and lobbying showed, Edson reported, in the listing of conservative thought leaders in "The First National Directory of 'Rightist' Groups, Publications and Some Individuals in the U.S." This placed 162 Representatives, or 37 per cent of the House, and twenty-five Senators, a quarter of the Senate, in the Right camp.

This is the kind of penetration and power that cannot be expected to yield to sweet reason and fold its tents and quietly steal away. The record of the last thirty years seems to say that the Radical Right of 1962 is the final excrescence of a protracted effort and that this effort may be expected to continue with unremitted zeal in an attempt to tar all liberal thought and drive America steadily farther to the Right. The forces that mount this effort, not the front men, are the forces that demand our study.

PART II HOME OF THE LOCUSTS

CALIFORNIA is the No. 1 state in the nation in the manufacture of missiles, warplanes, all the intricate paraphernalia of potential nuclear annihilation. For these creative endeavors, it receives an annual bounty of more than $5 billion from a grateful federal government; and on this bounty, it has been estimated, depend the livelihood of at least half the residents of the Los Angeles area and, in great measure, the prosperity of the entire state. Such dependence upon federal munitions contracts has given California a vested interest in the Menace—the perpetuation of the cold war and the intensification of international tensions to the point where they become almost explosively hot. And so, perhaps, it is no accident that it is in this premier state of the Golden West that one finds the voice of the cuckoo shrilling loudest in all the land.

Beginning in 1961 and continuing with unabated fervor in 1962, the circuit riders of the new evangelism have been whipping up the emotions of Californians with their tunes of prejudice and hate. Like a victim of raging smallpox, the state is speckled with a fever rash of anti-communism "schools," project alerts and survival seminars. Frenzy merges into frenzy. "Minutemen" arm themselves with guns and begin to roam the hills. Schoolteachers become the victims of witch hunts; textbooks are expurgated by vigilantes; churches are defaced and ministers' homes bombed. Admirals and generals take to the platforms of the Radical Right and call for "preemptive" war with Russia; Hollywood stars lend the glamour of their names and businessmen the resources of capacious bankrolls to the cause of a blind and emotional superpatriotism. The Respectables and the Radicals are one.

Christian Crusader

The front man in the promotion of this extravaganza in California is a medical doctor and part-time psychiatrist from Australia, a Jew turned Baptist evangelist and lay preacher. He is Dr. Fred C. Schwarz, the master of what he calls the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade. Schwarz arrived in this country in 1953 with just $10 in his pockets, and he has built his Christian Anti-Communism Crusade into a million-dollar-a-year business. His is not, like the John Birch Society of Robert Welch, an organization dedicated to a specific program of action; on the contrary, Schwarz pretends to "teach" the truth about communism in "schools" that he has conducted throughout the length and breadth

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of the nation. These "schools" become, however, exercises in revivalist emotion rather than exercises in logic; and wherever Schwarz has been, he leaves in his wake the atmosphere of the vigilante and the fanatic. This bitter and divisive climate is the product of "schools" that feature the most rabid speakers of the Radical Right; retired military Brass who, in their fanaticism, want war with Russia tomorrow if not today; and Schwarz's own brand of rabble-rousing.

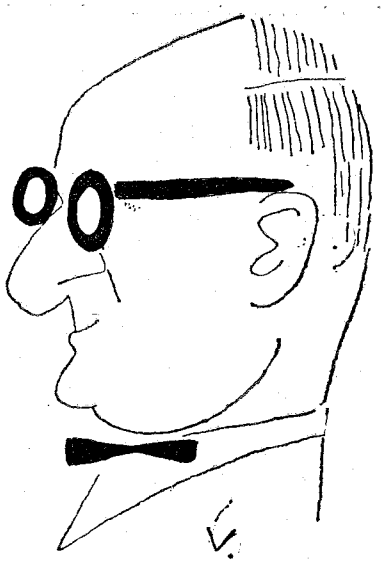
This all makes for potent medicine —such potent medicine that in California thousands have flocked to Schwarz's "schools" day after day, and verified figures obtained by State Attorney General Stanley Mosk showed that, in Los Angeles alone, in the ninety days following June 30, 1961, Schwarz's crusade grossed $311,253 and chalked up a net profit of $214,737.

Mosk declared in a televised address:

> This is indeed big business—nearly a quarter of a million dollars net in ninety days! At that rate there would be a million dollars a year—in just one city. No one is told, except in generalities, what is happening to the Oakland profits—or to the $100,000 taken out of Philadelphia, the $40,000 out of Phoenix, and so on in city after city. No wonder this whole movement has been called "Patriotism for Profit."

It would seem that an ideological evangelist from a foreign country who created such a stir and reaped such profits should have aroused the curiosity of the American press. Who is the man from Down Under who has built such a career out of educating Americans about communism? What kind of man is he? What wellsprings make him run? None of the great American media of information seem to have been possessed by an overwhelming curiosity to resolve these mysteries.

This much is generally known: Schwarz was born in Brisbane, Australia, on June 15, 1913. He attended the University of Queensland; taught mathematics and science in high school (his wife originally was one of his pupils), and then returned to college for his medical degree. He opened a private practice in a



Fred C. Schwarz

Sydney suburb, later studied "a bit of psychiatry," served as a psychiatrist for a marriage-guidance clinic in a Sydney hospital, and finally became a Baptist lay preacher of some note.

In 1949 he met a couple of American fundamentalists who were touring Australia. They liked his sermons and invited him to come to the United States as the guest of the American Council of Christian Churches, a fundamentalist organization. This first visit was followed by another in 1952, during which Schwarz made some radio talks and put together his first booklet, "The Heart, Mind and Soul of Communism." The following year, he came to stay and to crusade in earnest against the Menace.

An Intimate Portrait

All of this paints little more than the skeleton facts of a life; it does not tell very much about the man, Fred Schwarz. Fortunately, *The Nation* has been able to develop a more intimate portrait. It comes from Dr. J. V. Duhig, former professor of pathology at the University of Queensland, who came to know the young Fred Schwarz as a student in his class in 1942. According to Dr. Duhig, Schwarz's father was a taxi driver, and both of his parents originally were orthodox Jews. In the late 1930s, however, they broke with the Jewish faith, an act of apostasy that left considerable bitterness in the Jewish community.

Soon after Schwarz first entered his class, Professor Duhig's eye was caught by his personality and apparent brilliance.

"Freddy made an impression on me from the start by his appearance, his unusual warm interest in the work and a curious fluency of expression," Dr. Duhig writes. "On inquiring about him, I learned he was a devoted evangelizer, which explained a lot." Dr. Duhig was sufficiently curious about his new student to make discreet inquiries about him among his college classmates; and from this information and his own observations, he put together a vivid portrait of Fred Schwarz.

"From his earliest years he was a strong pacifist," Dr. Duhig writes, "and . . . went around the university, long, lean and pale of face at the thought of war, and the ceaseless expression of his pacifism became a nuisance to his fellow students not so much for its effect or sincerity or validity, but because he became an intolerable, monotonously repetitive bore on the subject."

Schwarz passed Dr. Duhig's pathology course easily enough, and the following year, 1943, returned to his former professor to seek advice. Resident medical officers were then being paid the miserly stipend of 50 to 100 pounds annually [$240-$480 at the 1943 exchange rate] and Schwarz wanted to know what could be done to correct so intolerable a situation. Dr. Duhig advised him that his only recourse was to form a union or, better, to join an already established union and fight through it for better wages. Schwarz followed his advice. He joined a union, induced the union to apply in Arbitration Court for salary increases for the resident and, when the case came up, handled the legal argument.

"The claim was opposed and the government case was conducted by the Public Service Commissioner, an egregious fool in this matter and a man who would far rather send a man a letter of dismissal than raise his salary," Dr. Duhig writes. "Anyway Freddy left him for dead and the RMOs got a rise to 750-800 pounds [$3,600-$3,900]. This was really a great triumph for Freddy, and he did deserve great praise."

The bureaucrats in the Australian

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government, however, had their revenge. They barred Schwarz from appointment to top hospital posts and he went off into the country, where Dr. Duhig lost track of him until, years later, he popped into prominence as an expert witness before American Congressional committees, expounding on the evils of communism. This development came as no great surprise to Dr. Duhig. He had always been impressed by the "extremely effective fluency of the man," by his "appetite and digestion of facts" that were "prodigious," and by a curious lack of balance that deprived Schwarz of "intellectual distinction" and led to the employment of a logic that was often "spurious and cockeyed." Schwarz, to Dr. Duhig, was the kind of facile, shallow, deceptively brilliant man who thought with his emotions rather than his brain.

Dr. Duhig's analysis fits, as nothing else that has been written fits, the picture of Schwarz in action on the platforms of the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade.

A Teacher of 'Facts'

Schwarz, that "good organizer and sound judge of tactics" whose canniness Dr. Duhig had preceived at the University of Queensland, has struggled hard to dissociate himself from the Radical Right. He bridles at any attempt to categorize him, to link him with the rabid fringe. He insists that he is simply a teacher of facts. What people do with the "facts" that Schwarz teaches, he maintains, is none of his business—and none of his responsibility. The pose is shrewd and would be plausible were it not for what Schwarz reveals of himself in interviews or on the speaker's platform.

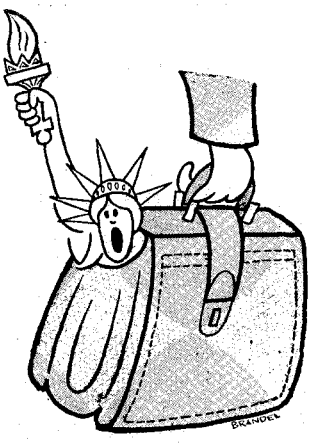
In one of his Los Angeles "schools" last year, Schwarz told 3,000 rapt listeners: "After you understand the Communist dialectic, you not only can understand the Communists, but you can also predict their actions. To understand communism, one must learn to think like a corkscrew." Proving that he has mastered this difficult art, Schwarz went on a few months later to spell out for Charles Raudebaugh of the *San Francisco Chronicle* how he had read the mind of Nikita Khrushchev in precise detail.

Khrushchev's timetable, he said, calls for the conquest of the United States by 1973. "I believe he has chosen San Francisco as the headquarters of the world Communist dictatorship," Schwarz told Raudebaugh. "The Mark Hopkins Hotel will make splendid offices for him." Khrushchev has had San Francisco in mind as his potential capital ever since he visited the United States during the brief era of good feeling in 1959, Schwarz believes. "In fact," he told Raudebaugh, "that's basically why he came to San Francisco."

As for whatever Americans might survive the nuclear holocaust (though it must be confessed Schwarz doesn't lay much emphasis on nuclear holocausts), there is no doubt what would happen to *them*. "The people of San Francisco—those they don't dump in the Bay—can be put in the Nevada desert, which is quite handy," Schwarz told the *Chronicle* reporter.

Possessed by passionate beliefs derived from corkscrew thinking, Schwarz takes to the platform and soars off into flights of evangelistic oratory. For him it is as if long-range missiles, as if nuclear bombs of such incredible power that they could lay waste the heart of the continent, did not even exist; all that exists is the holy cause against the heathen infidel. Listen to this typical Schwarz exhortation:

> Christians, to arms! The enemy is at the gate. Buckle on the armor of the Christian and go forth to battle.
>
> With education, evangelism and dedication let us smite the Communist foe and if necessary give up our lives in this noble Cause!



> . . . We cry, "We shall not yield! Lift high the blood-stained banner of the Cross and on to Victory!"
>
> . . . Co-existence is impossible. . . . Communism is total evil . . . its methods are evil and its ends are evil. . . . We must hurl this thing back into the pit from whence it came!

Is this the voice of the responsible thinker and teacher?

The answer, it seems, should be obvious. But, if it is obvious, it isn't being heeded in California. There, for reasons of their own, the Respectables have all but deified Fred Schwarz. They have given him the backing of their names, their prestige, their vociferous voices. They have given him, above all, the inestimable boon of their money.

God and Free Enterprise

Schwarz's backing among millionaire Respectables and the business concerns they dominate is impressive. The Allen-Bradley Company of Milwaukee, Wis., manufacturers of "quality motor controls and quality electronic equipment"—and, incidentally, a holder of big armaments contracts—has been among the foremost Schwarz supporters. Allen-Bradley was an associate of General Electric in the price-rigging scandal in the electrical industry and was fined $40,000 for its role, but it feels so strongly about free enterprise and the American way of life that it has distributed hundreds of thousands of copies of a huge handbill reproducing Schwarz's entire testimony before the House Un-American Activities Committee on May 29, 1957. The spread is headlined by glaring bold-face type asking the question:

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"WILL YOU BE FREE TO CELEBRATE CHRISTMAS IN THE FUTURE?" The answers to this shocking query are given in type only slightly less bold. They go like this:

> NOT UNLESS You and other free Americans begin to understand and appreciate the benefits provided by God under the American free enterprise system.
>
> NOT UNLESS You and other free Americans awaken to the true meaning of Communism and understand that it is your enemy.
>
> NOT UNLESS Your children, and their educators, quit swallowing whole the false, sugar-coated, one-sided description of vicious Communism supplied by dedicated Communist sympathizers.
>
> NOT UNLESS Americans generally begin to understand that Communism is NOT just another political party.
>
> NOT UNLESS otherwise well-meaning Americans begin to understand that "academic freedom" without morality leads to national suicide.

Then, in heavy black type, boxed with black borders, the flier proclaims: "COMMUNISM IS OUT TO DESTROY YOU!"

Popular Document

Having by this emotional effusion wedded God exclusively to the free-enterprise system, having ridiculed the concept of "academic freedom" and plainly hinted that anything less than hate-teaching of communism is outright subversion, the patriotic Allen-Bradley Company offered twenty-five copies of its flier free to anyone who wanted them. To schools and churches, it offered copies "free in any quantity," a bargain that was snapped up so avidly that Schwarz later was able to boast: "This document, I understand, has had wider distribution than any government document in the history of the United States, with the exception of the Bill of Rights, the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution."

The Schwarz doctrine which the people in Allen-Bradley were so zealous in distributing free to masses of the American people was, naturally, the doctrine of the fanatic—the doctrine that by clear implication makes utterly inconceivable any end but nuclear war against the heathen foe. Schwarz had informed HUAC that "to negotiate true peace . . . is impossible" and that even to think we could do it "is to indicate a failure to understand communism so complete that it approaches mental illness." He had advocated the teaching of communism in the schools but only "with a moral directive" that would insure the closed mind.

The inevitable end to which the program of the Right, Respectables and Radicals alike, ultimately would doom America and the world was tacitly acknowledged by Schwarz himself in the last exchange in his testimony. He was asked whether the Communists planned hydrogen war, and his reply illumined the divergence of belief and method between the powers of East and West; it illumined the no-choice alternative that is at the heart of the doctrine of both the Respectables and the Radicals. Schwarz testified before the committee:

> The basic Communist strategy in 1952 renounced the inevitability of World War III. World conquest without war, which is called coexistence, became their basic strategy. I would not be surprised that they would like some disarmament, as all they look to from military might is a stalemate. If they can reduce the armament burden and retain this stalemate, they will have more funds available for propaganda, and political and economic warfare.

It is startling to find so dedicated and emotional an anti-Communist as Schwarz accepting the proposition that the Communists want some disarmament, that they contemplate at best only a military stalemate, that they expect to win and conquer, yes, but by the peaceful methods of "political and economical warfare." *In view of this, Schwarz's no-compromise, no-negotiation doctrine carries with it the inevitable corollary that our policy must be the reverse of this dangerous Communist strategy of peaceful coexistence*—that, while the devil-Communists may be for peace and disarmament because they believe they can win that way, we, the chosen people of God, must back the cause of ever mightier armaments and ultimately nuclear war, because we can win only that way. To say that this is the reverse of the American stereotype of the Soviet Union is to put it mildly. But make no mistake. This reverse image comprises the joint, dark faith of Respectable and Radical alike; and the siren voice of an emotional revivalist like Schwarz is priceless to the faith because it appeals to every prejudice and every volatile emotion of man, and because, listening to it, we become committed to a vaguely defined, but glorious, moral and religious crusade without realizing that the end of this commitment may well be nuclear war in all its inconceivable horror.

The hate campaign which makes this end possible, if indeed not inevitable, is financed and supported by the most eminent of Respectables, haunted by the irrational fear that the mere existence of communism anywhere in the world threatens their millions, their status, their control of their businesses and their society. To avert such calamities they embrace a Fred Schwarz who "thinks with his blood."

Someone Up There Liked Him

In California, Schwarz's principal backer and financial angel has been industrialist Patrick J. Frawley, who heads a complex of prominent companies. Some years ago, Frawley was hailed as one of America's brightest young industrialists when, at the age of thirty-one, he came up with a personal gold mine in the Paper Mate pen. He is now chairman and chief executive officer of Technicolor Inc., in which he holds 77,577 shares of stock; he heads the Schick Safety Razor Co., a division of Eversharp, Inc.; and he is chairman of the board of Eversharp. In his dominating position in Technicolor, his vice president and alter ego is the Hollywood actor, George Murphy, a symbolic pairing in its way; for, in the frenzy of 1961, Frawley and Murphy were to combine Big Business and Hollywood with Fred Schwarz's brand of anti-communism.

Schwarz himself has related how he discovered, before he had even met Frawley, that someone up there in Big Business liked him. Several years ago, when his Christian Anti-Communist Crusade was far less

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prosperous than it is now, Schwarz collected the mail one morning, opened a letter and discovered inside a check for $5,000. The check was from Frawley, and ever since the boss man of Technicolor has been one of Schwarz's most enthusiastic backers. It just goes to show what kindred ideas and faith will do for a man.

The extent of Frawley's faith was graphically demonstrated in two Schwarz rallies in California last year. The first was the five-day Southern California School of Anti-Communism held in Los Angeles and ending on September 1. Frawley started off the fund-raising appeal to insure the continuance of Schwarz's good deeds by contributing $10,000. His Schick Safety Razor Co. (not to be confused with Schick, Inc., manufacturers of the Schick electric razor) also sponsored a local telecast. It turned out to be quite a show.

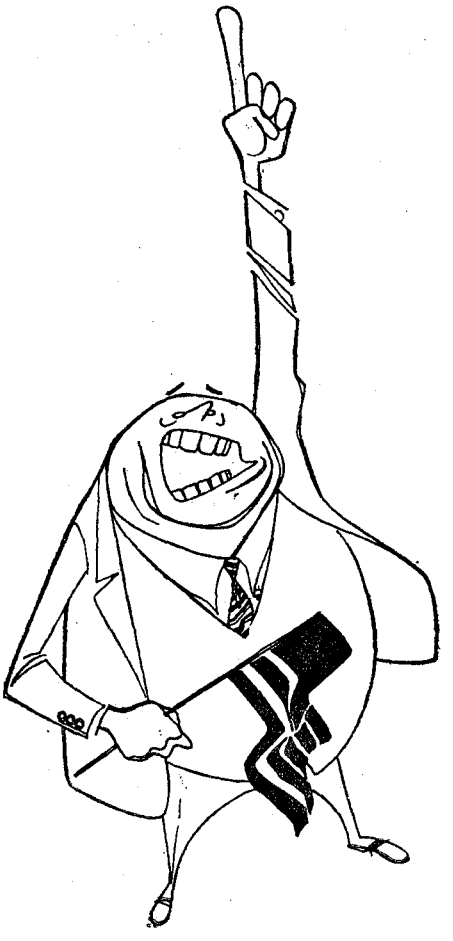
Schwarz himself denounced foreign aid and called for "dedicated individuals" to repel the Communist threat. We couldn't win allies abroad by our money, he said; we must rely, as the Communists did, on dedicated, determined, highly trained persons with a "practical program for the seizure of power." If such programs "for the seizure of power" don't seem very much like democracy in action, they were relatively mild compared to the steps that other members of Schwarz's "faculty" advocated in stentorian tones.

Demand for 'Victory'

Rear Admiral Chester Ward (U.S.N., Ret.), former Judge Advocate General of the Navy, called for victory, not accommodation, in the cold war. He saw a "rising demand for victory among the American people"; we must let it be known "that we are at all times ready for war to keep the peace"; we must drop all idea of disarmament because this was "a trap"; we must resume nuclear testing at once; we should arm a hundred merchant ships with Polaris missiles; we must "get rid of the architects of accommodation, the foreign-policy advisers who gave President Kennedy bad advice."

W. Cleon Skousen, a former FBI agent and a regular member of Schwarz's "faculty," called for the severance of all diplomatic relations with Russia; a ban on all trade with Russia and China; withdrawal from the United Nations unless the Charter could be rewritten to our liking; and a thoroughgoing, Congressional investigation of our foreign-policy makers to root out the "small left-wing group in the State Department" that has been the cause of all our troubles.

In speech after speech, these pet themes of the Radical Right were hammered home, at times to wild bursts of applause. Plainly evident in the Schwarz "school" were all the neuroses and hallucinations of the Right: the conspiracy theory of history that relates virtually every development in the modern world to treason and sellout; the demand for more ruthless witch hunts to root out the conspirators; the denunciation of negotiation, disarmament, any moves toward peace; the call for "total victory" and "war to keep the peace." To these themes, actor Ronald Reagan added one more vital ingredient. He denounced the Welfare State because, he said, it represented a centralization of government just as dangerous for America as communism.



'Life' Can Be Cruel

This last strand, the umbilical cord of Respectable-Radical union, had hardly been read into the record when a new element was injected—one that brought the seminar to a close on a fevered note. The *Life* magazine of that veteran right-wing warrior Henry Luce had just hit the stands, and it contained a startlingly unkind reference to what it called Dr. Schwarz's "revival meeting" in Southern California. "Schwarz," *Life* said, "preaches doomsday by communism by 1973 unless every American starts distrusting his neighbor as a possible Communist or 'comsymp' (Communist sympathizer)."

To the members of Schwarz's "faculty," this pronouncement was like a stab in the back by a blood brother. Herbert Philbrick, the former FBI hero of *I Led Three Lives* repute, grabbed the offending issue of *Life* and waved it in front of Dr. Schwarz's astonished disciples. "This is not news," he shouted. "It is an invention. Whoever pulled that sleazy stunt is working for the Communist criminal conspiracy."

There was, as they sometimes say, sheer hell to pay. The dereliction of *Life* could not be permitted to go ignored or unchallenged. According to both Frawley and Murphy, Frawley grabbed the telephone and got in touch with Henry Luce, sent the publisher a batch of Schwarz literature, then flew to New York to meet Luce personally and argue the cause. Subsequently, Schwarz himself arrived on the scene and met and talked with Luce. So was the groundwork laid for *Life's* confession of error.

Schwarz, at the time, was planning the greatest anti-Communist extravaganza of his life. It was to be held in the Hollywood Bowl on October 16, and it was being billed as "Hollywood's Answer to Communism." Big-name Hollywood stars, Schwarz and his own "faculty" and headline politicians of the Right were to combine in three hours of denunciation of the Communist menace. Frawley and other eminent in-

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dustrialists were determined to see that no one missed the spectacle, and so they laid elaborate plans to blanket the entire West Coast by television. A thirty-five-station network was formed to carry the telecast, with Frawley guaranteeing to underwrite the costs. (In the end, Frawley's Schick Safety Razor Co. picked up the tab in the Los Angeles area, and Richfield Oil, one of the large and growing West Coast oil companies, bore the burden of the network telecast.) The over-all investment in Schwarz's right-wing propaganda, never explicitly stated, has been estimated at better than $50,000.

The performance itself was largely a repeat of the doggerel Schwarz had disseminated at his Southern California "school" two months earlier. Only the window-dressing, some of the headline figures and *Life* were different. A Boy Scout color guard presented the colors and 15,000 voices sang, "God Bless America." On the stage were such Hollywood glamour personalities as Linda Darnell, Dale Evans, John Wayne, Cesar Romero, Pat O'Brien, Lloyd Nolan, Jimmy Stewart, Robert Stack and Roy Rogers. Senator Thomas J. Dodd (D., Conn.), who began his career as an FBI agent, warned that communism is based on "blasphemy," that there was no hope in negotiations with Russia, and that "The only answer to total defeat in the struggle against communism is total victory!" Rep. Walter H. Judd (R., Minn.), a veteran of the right-wing China Lobby's wars, shouted: "Wake up, we're the targets!" Khrushchev, he said, heads such a "well-disciplined" apparatus that "he can start a riot or a strike in any major city any time he wants to." Schwarz told the roaring 15,000 in the audience that "United States Communists acknowledge that if they came to power they would have to put 60 million Americans to death." Just who ever "acknowledged" this, Schwarz did not say, and of course no one, in this fevered gathering, paused to consider that even 60 million might be a pallid figure compared to the casualties of the nuclear war that alone could bring Senator Dodd's "total victory."

This was not the hour of reason; it was the hour of unreason. And so, with 15,000 cheering, C. D. Jackson, the publisher of Henry Luce's *Life,* stepped forth to make his capitulation to the Radical Right. "It is a great privilege to be with you tonight," he said, "because it affords me an opportunity to align *Life* magazine in a very personal way with a number of stalwart fighters . . . against the first implacable foe our country has ever had—imperial, aggressive communism."

Jackson pictured a world in imminent danger of becoming overwhelmingly communistic, an America with "virtually nothing left on the globe as a place to make the last stand other than the North American continent—an island besieged." Having thus confirmed everybody's fears, he pleaded for knowledge and so came to *Life's* profound apology to Dr. Schwarz:

> You have with you a man who has dedicated his life to helping disseminate that knowledge and therefore to helping endow our nation with that power.
>
> That man is Dr. Fred Schwarz and, like all dedicated men, he will be subject to over-simplified misinterpretations. Regretfully, my own magazine recently published such an over-simplified misinterpretation. I know that you are not interested in how that happened, but I hope you will be interested in my statement that I believe we were wrong and that I am profoundly sorry.

Life, proud product of one of the most powerful publishing dynasties in the nation, had made its abject capitulation to the Radical Right. In Los Angeles, weeks later, politicians of both parties told Chalmers Roberts of *The Washington Post* that Jackson's public apology at the Hollywood Bowl was the greatest coup that had been scored by the anti-Communists. "The apology served to swell the sense of increasing power for the rightists," Roberts wrote.

Triumph—or Disaster?

The performance in the Hollywood Bowl was both triumph and disaster, depending on how one looked at it. For the emotional Right, this was glorious, 150 per cent Americanism; but for others, watching the perfervid nationalistic trappings, listening to the wild exhortations of hate and the rabid calls for "total victory" at carefully unstated cost, the mood that was induced was one of deep disgust. Guy Endore, the novelist, was one such. He had watched the rally, intending to write a description of it for *The Nation,* but when the last ranting voice had died, he found that he could not. In a letter to Carey McWilliams, editor of *The Nation,* he wrote:

> I swear I meant to write an article for you. But have you any idea of the state of despair that I was thrown into as I listened to speaker after speaker and noted how not one of them uttered the word war, but every one of whom hammered home ideas that made that outcome absolutely inevitable? And then saw fifteen thousand youths rising again and again to cheer these ideas, deliberately boxing themselves in with death? And boxing us in, too?

Endore recalled the last paragraph that Albert Einstein wrote — the paragraph that he was writing when death struck and stilled his pen:

> In essence, the conflict that exists today is no more than the old-style struggle for power, once again presented to mankind in semi-religious trappings. The difference is that, this time, the development of atomic power has imbued the struggle with a ghostly character; for both parties know and admit that, should the quarrel deteriorate into actual war, mankind is doomed. Despite this knowledge, statesmen in responsible positions on both sides continue to employ the well-known technique of seeking to intimidate and demoralize the opponents by marshaling superior military strength. They do so even though such a policy entails the risk of war and doom. Not one statesman in a position of responsibility has dared to pursue the only course that holds out any promise of peace, the course of supranational security, since for a statesman to follow such a course would be tantamount to political suicide. Political passions, once they have been fanned into flames, exact their victims. . . .

"Political passions, once they have been fanned into flames, exact their victims. . . ." Fred Schwarz was fanning, cheered on by the Respect-

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ables, and it was a rare man indeed who stood against the gale. One such was Morris Watson of San Francisco. For twelve years, Watson had held a preferred customer credit card from Richfield Oil. On October 18, he wrote Charles S. Jones, president of Richfield, returning the credit card and announcing his intention of never again patronizing Richfield or any of its affiliates.

> I do not lightly break off a customer relationship of a dozen years' standing [he wrote]. Your sponsorship of the disgraceful demagoguery displayed at Hollywood Bowl the evening of October 16 leaves me no choice. . . .
>
> A man can be against a political philosophy without advocating destruction of any and all who disagree with him. But such was not the tenor, tone or content of the Hollywood Bowl meeting. . . . From beginning to end it was preachment of nationalistic hatred for the people of almost two-thirds of the world. . . .

Guy Endore and Morris Watson appear to have been in the minority. The emotionalism of the rally apparently swept a sizable portion of the public off its feet, and the Respectables all up and down the Pacific Coast cheered the great patriotic contribution made by Patrick Frawley of Schick and Charles Jones of Richfield Oil. One of the loudest leaders of the applause was Joe Crail, president of the huge Coast Federal Savings & Loan Association of Los Angeles—third largest enterprise of its kind in the nation.

Brainwashing by Business

Crail, for some years now, has been making a business of wedding business to anti-communism. He has set up what he calls the Free Enterprise Bureau in Coast Federal, and he allocates to this 4 per cent of the institution's huge net revenue before taxes. Last year, Coast Federal's Free Enterprise Bureau mailed out two million pieces of propaganda to depositors, borrowers and business concerns. The idea, according to Crail, has caught on in the business community. Five thousand American companies have inquired about Coast Federal's program, he says, and no less than 2,000 firms have established similar bureaus.

This is brainwashing of the American public by business in its own self-interest. Coast Federal's direction, in those millions of pieces of literature it distributes, is Hard Right. Its bias shows clearly in a "Myths & Truth" kit about free enterprise and communism which it has put out. The kit labels as a myth this statement: "Cultural exchanges are an excellent way for Americans to understand Russians and vice versa. They might, in time, help relieve distrustful international relations." The "truth," according to Joe Crail and Coast Federal, is that "Since we are at war, cultural exchanges amount to nothing more than weapons of espionage, propaganda, and sources of income for the Communist conspiracy." As might be expected, Coast Federal is distrustful of majority rule. In a flier, it proclaims: "Majority rule, without adequate education, is as irresponsible and conscienceless as dictatorship. . . . America is declining as the 'majority'-mob reaches for divine right to rule over the individual." The nature of the threat and the purpose of Coast Federal both become crystal clear in one additional simple statement that it has labeled "myth." It is this: "Human rights are above property rights."

'Twas Never Said

This is the kind of propaganda, most of it, that stops just this side of the threshold of falsehood; but in at least one instance, according to Senator Lee Metcalf (D., Mont.), Coast Federal did not stop short. In a speech in the Senate on March 8, Metcalf exposed the manner in which Coast Federal and other Hard Right mouthpieces like Poor Richard's Book Shop in Los Angeles were attributing to Premier Khrushchev a statement that the Soviet leader had never made. The statement was an especially vicious distortion since it quotes Khrushchev as confirming a cardinal tenet of the Radical Right — that any legislation that smacks of liberalism merely paves the way for the ultimate Communist take-over.

The alleged Khrushchev statement, Metcalf said, was this:

> We cannot expect the Americans to jump from capitalism to communism, but we can assist their elected leaders in giving Americans small doses of socialism, until they suddenly awake to find they have communism.

This statement, Metcalf declared on the Senate floor, sometimes "is printed against a red background, on post cards distributed as a public service by the Coast Federal firm of Los Angeles, which has circulated thousands of copies of literature endorsing the John Birch Society." Metcalf said he had received such cards in the mail, followed by denunciations like this: "Your socialistic voting record leads me to believe that you are one of the elected leaders upon whom Nikita Khrushchev depends to carry out his plan."

Metcalf, doubting the authenticity of the Khrushchev quote, said he asked every knowledgeable source in the American government to confirm it for him, if possible. He had sent inquiries to the Library of Congress, the House Un-American Activities Committee, the Senate Internal Security Committee, J. Edgar Hoover of the FBI, the Central Intelligence Agency, the U.S. Information Agency and the State Department. No one could verify the quote. John A. McCone, director of CIA, was most explicit. "The quotation," he wrote, "does not appear in any of Khrushchev's speeches, interviews, articles, or off-the-cuff remarks which have come to our attention. To the best of our knowledge, we believe the quotation to be spurious."

Hurling the Haymaker

Having established the facts, Senator Metcalf then hurled a haymaker at the Respectables of Coast Federal and the fanatics of the Radical Right.

> Mr. President [he said from the Senate floor], this fabrication, attributed to the leader of the Communist Party, arouses Americans against their elected officials. Readers and listeners are led, by the mischievous persons who authored and use the false quotation, to believe that their President, their Senators, their Representatives, their judges and local officials are Communist stooges. Thus a lie is used to perpetrate a greater lie.
>
> I say, Mr. President, that whoever created this quotation, and those

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who, knowing it to be spurious, nevertheless disseminate it, are cut from the same cloth as Communists and Fascists. Totalitarian movements always strive to belittle and subvert democratic or republican government. Let the American people beware.

Such is the record of Joe Crail's huge Coast Federal firm in the propaganda field. Dedicated Hard Rightist that he is, Respectable Joe Crail chortled over what he considered the smashing success of "Hollywood's Answer to Communism," with its telecast audience estimated at nearly 7 million persons. This was even better than distributing 2 million pieces of literature in a year, and Crail in a speech to fellow business executives urged them to come on in and join the rabid Right, anti-Communist clamor.

"Anti-communism builds sales and raises employee performance," Crail declared, emphasizing what a boon patriotism is to profit. He said he rated Coast Federal's Free Enterprise Bureau "our least expensive form of getting business." As for himself, after the Hollywood Bowl extravaganza, he had switched to Richfield gas. "I began buying Richfield gasoline a few weeks ago," he said. "I enjoy driving into a Richfield station and saying, 'I want some anti-Communist gasoline.' I enjoy watching the attendant's face light up with pride in his company."

The faces of Respectables were lighting up all over Southern California. Ed Baltz, of the Compton Advertising Company, which handled some of the arrangements for the coast-blanketing telecast, confided that the sponsors were positively ecstatic over the results. Literally bales of mail had been received, he said, and automobile owners by the droves were writing in for Richfield credit cards. Baltz felt sure Schick and Richfield had scored what he called "a real breakthrough" with the "Hollywood Answer" program.

Then the Bombings

Evidence of the sentiment of the hour was visible on the streets. All over Southern California, car bumpers broke out in a rash of stickers, proclaiming slogans like "Americanism — The Only Ism for Me," "Socialism Is Communism," "No on Red China," and "Goldwater for Me." Fred Schwarz and the conservative Respectables behind him had certainly whipped up a gale, and Schwarz, looking for new worlds to conquer, set his sights on the San Francisco Bay area as his first objective for 1962. But now, just at the height of his triumph, things began to happen.

A reaction set in. One did not have to be any lover of communism to detest the emotional fanaticism, the psychopathic suspicions, the inevitable violence that were being nurtured by Fred Schwarz. In Los Angeles, a counter rally was scheduled entitled: "The Extreme Right — Threat to Democracy." It was held on the night of Feb. 1, 1962, and two of the principal speakers were the Rev. John G. Simmons and the Rev. Brooks B. Walker. The Rev. Simmons, who, before coming to the West Coast, had been the unsuccessful Democratic-Farmer-Labor candidate to succeed Hubert Humphrey as mayor of Minneapolis, had written to an Australian minister for information about Schwarz. The answer that he received and read to the gathering complements the analysis of Dr. Duhig.

> Unfortunately [the Australian minister wrote of Schwarz], his mind is of the McCarthy type and he is ready to smear people who are not prepared to be as violent as he is in anti-Communist views. It is significant that he was recently in Sydney and had a school of the type that he seems to run in America, but it gained no attention whatsoever in the public press and I should imagine would have been a very small and unimportant affair.

The Rev. Mr. Simmons had hardly finished reading this description of Schwarz and his Australian activities when he was informed that his home had been bombed. So had the home of his outspoken associate, the Rev. Mr. Walker. No one was injured in either bombing, but this was more by chance than lack of intent. The power of the bombs used was indicated by the fact that some of the debris from the Rev. Mr. Simmons' home was deposited a block and a half away.

Though the bomb-planters were not caught, police had little doubt that these crimes of violence had been committed by Radical Rightists. The dual bombings of the Simmons and Walker homes at the very time both men were speaking at the anti-Schwarz rally suggested that. Pointing up the moral, the Rev. Mr. Simmons bluntly told Mayor Sam Yorty, of Los Angeles: "When you endorse meetings which preach hate, someone is likely to start throwing bombs."

The bomb incident, the gradually dawning awareness of the nature and danger of the emotional fanaticism that is the trademark of Schwarz "schools," brought the anti-Communist evangelist a surprisingly cool reception when he invaded Oakland and San Francisco. Raudebaugh's devastating word portrait, in a series of articles in the *San Francisco Chronicle*, gave the public, for the first time, a true image of the man; some 290 university professors, school teachers, clergymen, lawyers, doctors and plain housewives and citizens took out large advertisements in the local press denouncing the aims and purposes of the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade; the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce, breaking with the business pattern of all-out support in Southern California, frowned on Schwarz and his works; and Attorney General Mosk took to the air waves with an unremitting series of attacks in which he detailed the enormous financial take of Schwarz's supposedly lofty, politico-spiritual crusade.

Who Likes Schwarz?

The Mosk shafts sparked indignant denials by Schwarz, then holding forth in a sparsely populated hall in Oakland. One entire Schwarz telecast was devoted to rebuttal, a performance in which Schwarz called out of the wings, as his champion knight, Patrick J. Frawley of Technicolor and Schick. Frawley, in the process of defending Schwarz, made some interesting revelations. He contended that Schwarz was a thoroughly responsible operator and that he had been "completely cleared" in an investigation masterminded by Norman Chandler, the conservative publisher of the powerful *Los Angeles*

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Times. Adding to the impressive list of Schwarz credentials, Frawley placed some of the nation's foremost Respectables in the evangelist's corner. Schwarz's show had been approved by the Sears, Roebuck head office in Chicago, he said; it had been given the blessing of General Electric of Schenectady, the most eminent culprit in the electrical price-rigging conspiracy; and it had been backed, too, by the American Security Council, that lofty, militaristic, right-wing brain trust that Sears and General Electric reportedly help to finance and control. To all of these powers, Frawley significantly added one other: he thanked members of the John Birch Society, who had given Schwarz their loyal support in this time of trouble.

'A Public Service'

Even this open avowal of the union between Respectable and Radical, even this recitation of eminent sponsorship, could not quite rescue the Schwarz operation in the San Francisco Bay area. Local officials who at first had endorsed Schwarz's crusade, evidently on the theory that anything goes where communism is concerned, began to withdraw their sponsorship; the public climate turned cool; and though Schwarz drew some fair crowds, he failed to score anything like the perfervid success that had marked his repetitive "schools" in the southern section of the state.

The setback did not indicate, however, that the last had been heard of Fred Schwarz. A video tape had been made of the Hollywood Bowl extravaganza and this was shown on television stations throughout the nation. In New York City, Frawley's Schick and Technicolor paid the costs of a three-hour rerun over Station WPIX. Even though Technicolor's profits had taken a beating and there hadn't been any money for dividends to stockholders in five years, there was money for this. Frawley's management might have blundered, as he conceded to stockholders, in its methods of marketing the company's 8 mm. home motion-picture projector, but Frawley was seeing to it that no blunders were committed in promoting his pet version of anti-communism. In a letter to a correspondent after the WPIX telecast, he exulted over the receipt of "6,000 letters, of which only fifteen were critical of our public service sponsorship" — even though sales of projectors did remain noticeably sluggish.

This, perhaps, should not be so surprising. It is far easier to sell an emotion like hate than it is to sell a manufactured product in the competitive market; for when one is selling good, solid, anti-Communist hate

"I'm always glad to give a hand, Barry."

there is no rival, there is no counter sales-pitch to overcome. The Respectables see to that. In New York, Frawley and Technicolor had no competition in selling Schwarz's wares. When Gilbert Seldes, who had helped to put together an hour-and-a-half taped reply to Schwarz's frenetic Hollywood production, asked WPIX for time to reply, the station refused to handle his program. The American Civil Liberties Union protested this decision and filed an appeal with the Federal Communications Commission, where at the moment, months later, the matter rests.

Rewards of Fanaticism

Not much else was resting, however. Frawley and Schwarz had convinced Madison Avenue. The flood of mail, the applications for Richfield credit cards, demonstrated to the hucksters, as the *Insider's Newsletter* reported, that anti-communism was "the hottest commodity on the mass-media market." Ed Baltz had been right in exulting about the "real breakthrough" scored by "Hollywood's Answer." Television could not wait to cash in on the rewards of fanaticism.

For one thing, fighting communism is like being for motherhood. There is no opposition. "You don't have to be objective about narcotics, morals or communism," says W. P. Strube, Jr., the Texas insurance executive who is director of radio and TV for the Schwarz crusade. This noble philosophy seems to have been adopted as the credo of the television industry. As of this writing, some 250 individual anti-Communist shows are in the works. Five of them are complete series — an amazing number on one theme when one considers that last year, according to *Broadcasting*, the entire industry produced only seven new series on all themes. The first of these new endeavors to take to the airways is *The Red Report* of Herbert Philbrick. Philbrick, whose *I Led Three Lives* had threatened to run forever, describes the new series as bringing the latest inside information about "the Communist criminal conspiracy" to the American public. "Better brave than slave," he proclaimed bravely as *The Red Report* had its première in Columbus, Ohio, under eminently Respectable sponsorship — that of the Dollar Federal Savings and Loan.

Throughout the television industry, the bankrolls of the Respectables were being unrolled in the expectation of finally being able to bring to pass that long-sought, ultra-Right millenium that Hub Russell had pursued so energetically in his travels in 1954. Southwestern oil and utility interests, waxing fat on depletion allowances that make them Uncle Sam's most favored taxpayers, were pouring heavy chunks of excess cash into the financing of the new hysteria. Joseph Mawra, president of the production firm of B. F. Nielson Associates, which is producing *Communism: Worldwide*, a twenty-six-week, half-hour program, acknowledged that the endeavor is being financed by prominent oil

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figures whom he refuses to name. U.S. Video, headed by Hardy Burt, long-time associate of oil billionaire H. L. Hunt, is turning out a weekly series entitled *Counter-challenge — Program for Victory*. And so it goes.

Of one thing, it seems, you may be certain: almost any time you flick on your television set during the fall and winter of 1962-63, you can be sure of getting a hefty dose of rabid anti-communism. You're almost certain to be entertained by pure white Americans of impeccable antecedents chasing and defeating the Communist devils. Almost certainly the portrayals won't be calculated to induce any great understanding of world problems, of a changing Russia, of a fanatical China; almost certainly the nuclear war that, if it comes, will lay waste entire continents, is a relatively minor consideration that isn't going to be mentioned much. On television, those Communist heathens are going to catch it from all directions, and it's all going to seem so vicariously, gloriously easy that we'll be left wondering why we don't actually *do* it. Have fun.

PART III OIL FOR THE RADICAL RIGHT

THE OIL depletion allowance, more than any other single factor, has oiled the wheels of the Radical Right. Favored by exemptions granted no other segment of American society, Texas oil men have amassed incredible millions — in some cases, actual billions — and have become an arrogant economic oligarchy immune to the ordinary influences, superior to the ordinary needs and desires, of America. The influence of Texas oil today is all-pervasive. Its millions, piled up thanks to the bounteous depletion allowance, spread through every sector of American industry; one can hardly turn around in the publishing field in New York, for example, without bumping into a Texas oil millionaire who has bought himself a share — often a controlling share — of an established periodical or book-publishing firm. The influence of overpowering wealth is a supremely potent force indeed, and this influence today is working its benefices on behalf of the Radical Right.

Virtually every Radical Right movement of the postwar era has been propped up by Texas oil millions. Joe McCarthy was the darling of the oil oligarchy. So today are Fred Schwarz and Robert Welch and lesser-known tillers of the same soil — like the proprietors of Texas' own, home-grown National Indignation Convention. In 1960, ultra-Right political organizations that revealed their campaign contributions indicated that the largest share came from this Texas oil gusher. All of this points up the fundamental role that Texas oil has played in promoting the causes of the Radical Right, but the significance of current developments would be missed if one did not realize that the extremist crusade, so well nourished in its infancy by Texas oil, now extends far beyond oil's direct participation.

An important section of American business has become involved: This is the crucial message of 1962. Ten years ago, the causes of the Radical Right were financed primarily by Texas oil billionaires like H. L. Hunt; today, the Respectables of business across the nation — the Patrick Frawleys and the Joe Crails of our culture — are devoting the resources of their vast organizations to the cause. The millions of the Respectables insure that the spouters of the Radical Right obtain the widest possible audience for the repetitive and frenzied screaming of the syllogism so dear to the hearts of conservative business: that liberalism equals socialism equals communism. If the American people can be made to believe that, then both the New Deal and the New Frontier can be discarded in the most convenient ash cans, and American society can be turned back to the nineteenth century.

This is the wild and the impractical hope, but a hope that is treasured with a zealot's passion in some sectors of industry. Because the Republican Party, by the sheer necessity to get votes, has had to temporize — to agree to accept the Roosevelt changes of the 1930s while promising never to do such things itself — it has ceased to be the exclusive darling of the Right. As Hub Russell's journey showed, many persons in many important places were convinced in 1954 that both parties had sold out the true conservative faith. By 1962, this sentiment had solidified. Business millions were being channeled, not into the coffers of the Republican Party, but into the causes of Radical Right extremism, and Radical Right candidates were taking to the hustings in Texas and California. Old-line Republican politicians were becoming concerned because the golden stream from the treasure chests of big industry, on which they have always relied, was now being diverted to a great extent to the Radical Right rival. When the love affair of the Respectables and the Radicals reaches such a passionate pitch that it adds gray hairs to the strands of old-guard Republican bosses, it is truly time to pause and take stock.

Angel of the Right

Whenever one speaks of Texas oil in connection with the Radical Right, one automatically thinks of Haroldson Lafayette Hunt, the Dallas oil billionaire who has sometimes been called the richest man in the world. Whether Hunt truly deserves this distinguished title is a matter of some doubt, for every time one turns around one finds some other Texas oil billionaire being called the richest man in the world. But two things are certain: Hunt has so much money he has escaped upward from the mere millionaire's class, and he uses this money liberally to finance what he calls "the cause of freedom" — and what others call the cause of the Radical Right.

For many years, Hunt had a rival in financing Radical Right evangel-

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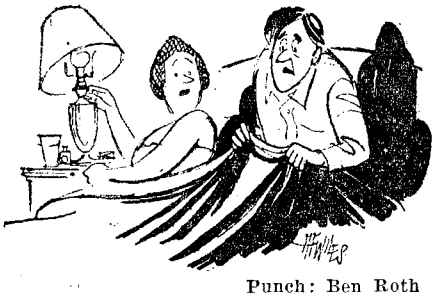
ism in the person of the late H. R. Cullen, of Houston, who was reputed to be the most generous angel of arch-conservative causes in the nation. Cullen, however, never made the national impact that Hunt, with various propaganda gimmicks, has succeeded in making. Just how much money Hunt still pours into Radical Right financing is a matter of conjecture. He himself told William K. Wyant, Jr., of the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, in March, that he guessed it was probably less than $1 million a year. Any other man, of course, might be expected to know whether he had spent $1 million in a year for propaganda, but Hunt appeared unable to be quite precise about the figures — understandably, too, since his income is reported to be about $1 million a week and it's a little hard for even a man like H. L. Hunt to keep track of all that money.

Hunt, who is now in his seventies, is gentle and soft-spoken in manner, friendly with the press, simple in his habits — traits that are not common among Texas oil millionaires. He professes to have no hatred for liberals, whom he regards as sincere though fatally misguided, and whom he calls "the Mistaken enemies of freedom," or, for short, just "the Mistaken." Less tolerant toward middle-of-the-roaders "who don't have the courage to stand up for right or wrong," Hunt has no tolerance at all for the political ideas that have been dominant in America for the last thirty years. Here he is rigid and determined. One might think that he would be satisfied with a system that has rewarded him with more than a billion dollars in his lifetime; but Hunt sees only the potential threats to the continued uninhibited amassing of more such billions if America should ever take a full swing toward liberalism. And so his cause is Hard Right all the way — a stand he equates with patriotism.

A window into the mind of the man is sometimes opened by letters that he sends to editors. Typical was a letter he wrote on January 5, 1962, to the editor of *The Capital Times*, the liberal Madison, Wis., daily:

> International correspondents largely with Harvard, Columbia and New York University backgrounds representing the three large TV networks, who freely refuse to accept any pro-Freedom commentary, are heard on the airwaves and appear in groups to give the public expert information on World affairs.
>
> A year ago, they were agreed that Red China should and would soon be admitted to the U.N. Now they do not touch the subject. They might have to admit that Khrushchev probably does not want Red China in this powerful body which he controls.
>
> How much more interesting and informative it would be for some of them to appear jointly with Wayne Poucher, Fulton Lewis, General Walker, Henry Taylor or others who are known to be informed and also dedicated to the cause of Freedom. The public should demand and may get an exposition by both sides of the cause of Freedom.



Punch: Ben Roth

"I had the most ghastly nightmare. I dreamt I was Red and dead."

Typical, too, of Hunt's aims and methods are letters that he circulated among his business acquaintances drumming up support for Wayne Poucher, the radio politico-evangelist whose *Life Line* program he sponsors. In one such letter, he wrote:

> Dear Friends: You may recall me from my oil operations in your part of the country. I am assisting and wish to call to your attention a movement (*Life Line*) which I think is showing excellent results in halting the trend toward socialism.
>
> You will note that *Life Line* is planned so that it can be supported through public relations expense and formal advertising. . . .

This was a gentle reminder to businessmen that the money they might invest in right-wing, *Life Line* propagandizing would cost them nothing; it could all be charged off to their business as a tax-free business expense.

In such letters the mind and purposes of H. L. Hunt become quite clear. For him, obviously, there is some devious Harvard-Columbia-N.Y.U. conspiracy that keeps "pro-Freedom" material off the air waves; for him, obviously, his causes and only his causes are "Freedom" causes. In Hunt's view, Khrushchev controls the United Nations, an item of information that doubtless will come as a delightful surprise to the Russian Premier; in Hunt's view, too, we are driving straight towards a hideous socialism (quick translation, communism), an end that can be averted only if businessmen unfurl their bankrolls and "patriots" unite to defend what is called "the American way."

Hunt's inflexible, roll-back-the-tide ideas are expressed in innumerable pamphlets urging Americans to be ever-vigilant in resisting the insidious overtures of the Mistaken. "Why does foreign aid go on endlessly, year after year?" one such flier asks. Hunt is opposed to foreign aid, to United Nations "one world" involvement, to high taxes and government spending. His incessant propagandizing evidently has had its effect, for a notable feature of the face of the Radical Right in 1962 may be found in the manner in which these very ideas find expression among the newly rich and among common people who have been contributing increasingly to Radical Right causes.

The Tactics Vary

The incessant barrage of propaganda which Hunt has kept up in his effort to swing the public mind full Right is illustrated by the speakers and causes he has promoted. If one of his ultra-Right gimmicks fails, he abandons it and seeks another. But he never gives up. And sometimes, even if a movement he initiates does not in itself succeed, it brings into the Radical Right movement speakers and resources that continue and proliferate.

This was precisely what happened with one of Hunt's earliest postwar endeavors in the propaganda field, his widely discussed *Facts Forum* project. This was supposed to be a

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factual discussion of current issues, but it was so one-sided in its right-wing presentation that it quickly lost, for most persons, all contact with reality. In addition, the times were not right for this kind of extremism. The nation in its domestic policies was still under the influence of Roosevelt-Truman liberalism, and *Facts Forum* found no fertile field in which to grow. But though the program itself was not a success, a new voice that it discovered and brought forward for the Radical Right quickly became a decided and powerful influence. This was the voice of Dan Smoot, now widely known for his *Dan Smoot Report*, and one of the favorite oracles of the Radical Right.

Riding the Air Waves

Smoot left the Hunt stable in 1955 and set up in the Radical Right business for himself. He acquired new sponsors, whom we will examine in some detail later, and his radio and television presence now practically blankets vast sections of the West, Southwest and Midwest. Last year his radio program was sponsored on 70 stations in 20 states. His television program was being beamed over 40 stations in 12 states. On radio and TV he tilled most intensively the States of California, Arizona and Texas, the very areas where the frenzy on the Right is most frenetic.

Having spawned Dan Smoot with *Facts Forum*, H. L. Hunt turned to other devices and other spokesmen to convey his ideas. His current effort concentrates on the *Life Line* radio and television program featuring the anti-liberal, anti-Communist evangelism of Wayne Poucher. Poucher, who received the American Legion Mercury Award in 1960, is heard daily on 212 radio stations in some 28 states — more than half the nation — and his outlets include about 25 per cent of available, big-channel stations. This spring Poucher branched out into a five-day-a-week television program. Hunt has been and remains his principal sponsor.

The Poucher format on *Life Line* has overtones reminiscent of Fred Schwarz on the podia of his anti-communism "schools." Like Schwarz, Poucher blends a political dissertation with religion and wraps all up in the folds of the flag. A typical *Life Line* program begins with a talk on political affairs, followed by a hymn. Capping all is a sermon.

Poucher, who was born in Florida, attended Freed-Hardeman College, the University of Florida and David Lipscomb College. He began his career in radio when he was seventeen on a part-time basis, and he later developed the TV bedtime show, *Mr. Sandman*. According to Poucher, he was then in business for some years in South Carolina, and in 1954 he served as a county campaign manager for Sen. Strom Thurmond, the Dixiecrat most noted for his concern about segregation and the "muzzling" of the Military Brass by the Kennedy Administration. It may or may not be significant, but after his association with the Thurmond campaign, Poucher leaped rather quickly into public prominence. In 1956, he says, he felt a religious call, went to theological school, and the next year became an ordained minister. For a brief time, he had a church in Franklin, Tenn., but he soon moved to Washington, D.C. And from there, on November 10, 1958, he became the widely heard voice on Hunt's *Life Line* program.

Poucher describes himself as "a very conservative person," a quality that must have endeared him to Hunt. He is against what he calls "the *police* Welfare State" — a definition that seems to signify opposition to the Welfare State per se. He explains that he cannot understand why, with over 100 million professed Christians in America, there should be any need for welfare from local, state or federal governments — an attitude that seems to disregard America's disastrous experience with reliance on Christian charity in the debacle of 1929. A man who can see no need for the Welfare State under any circumstances is naturally H. L. Hunt's man, and it should therefore come as no surprise that Poucher's mind and Hunt's mind are in beautiful agreement on such matters as inflation, "current threats to freedom," Constitutional rights and the U.N.

Poucher's views on the United Nations especially must have warmed the cockles of H. L. Hunt's heart. Listen to some excerpts from a Poucher broadcast from Washington on January 15, 1962:

> It is difficult to take in all that is happening to the United States in connection with the United Nations. For months the front pages of our newspapers have been filled with stories about one blow after another suffered by our Nation, suffered by the cause of Freedom, at the hands of the One Worlders who are relentless in their determination to take over America.
>
> This hard fact must be faced: The U.N. has proceeded to the point where men of principle can no longer defend it, for its actions have become defenseless.

The Dangerous U.N.

Poucher was especially incensed at the time over the U.S.-U.N. role with regard to Katanga — a policy that, whatever else might be said of it, does seem to have averted the threat of war in central Africa. He was also outraged that America should be asked to underwrite half of a proposed $200 million U.N. bond issue. The world body, he said, had produced nothing except "chaos and trouble," and he lashed out at the organization in terms that linked it with some devious international conspiracy.

> Unless we get rid of the U.N. [Poucher told his radio audience], the U.N. is going to get rid of freedom. It already has accomplished a great deal in that direction.
>
> Stated in simple and blunt language, the United Nations is one of the most dangerous threats the United States has ever faced. We need to do everything we can, in my earnest opinion, to get out of the United Nations. We have to recognize that unless this is brought about by informed Patriots, then the United States may no longer remain the land of the free.

Such was the message that Wayne Poucher, bankrolled by H. L. Hunt's millions, conveyed to listeners over 212 radio stations in 28 states. His formula reeked with all the pat heart-tuggers of Madison Avenue, wedded to the prejudice of the Respectable-Radical Right. The U.N.

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was on one side; freedom on the other. "Patriots" — and everyone likes to be thought of as a patriot — must act to get rid of the U.N. or the United States "may no longer remain the land of the free." The impact of such diatribes, repeated endlessly, heard by millions, cannot be calculated, but common sense says that they must be profound.

Introducing Mr. Smoot

One begins to get some idea of the extent of Radical Right brainwashing of the American mind when one multiplies Wayne Poucher by Dan Smoot. Smoot, who is now forty-eight, started out in life teaching English in Harvard and later served with the FBI during World War II. From the FBI to *Facts Forum* was an easy leap for Smoot. A handsome man with black, curly hair, a rugged face and clear, flawless enunciation, he exuded an All-American aura, and he promptly became a rave of the Radical Right.

Behind the impressive façade, however, dwelt the mind and soul of a man with a fixed idea. This was graphically demonstrated by his performance in 1956, when the so-called Alaska Mental Health Bill was introduced in Congress. The object was to give the Territory of Alaska the authority, which it then lacked, to care for its mentally ill in need of hospitalization and to create community health services for early diagnosis and treatment.

These seemingly estimable objectives promptly ran into a storm of opposition on the Radical Right. The fantastic charge was made that the Alaskan health bill would authorize a huge concentration camp — a "Siberia, USA" — to which anyone who opposed Communist plotting within the federal government might be railroaded. This thesis, of course, was tenable only if one believed the cherished theory of the Radical Right that Communists lurked under every bed and were about to seize power in Washington at any minute. There was then, as there is now, no evidence to suggest that such an all-inclusive conspiracy ever has existed, and so it is instructive to see how Smoot circumvented this basic, nay-saying fact and made the most hid-

eous possibilities seem imminent and real.

The Smoot performance is chronicled in an article in *Dan Smoot Speaks* for February 17, 1956. In this, Smoot began by examining the reasons that "some patriotic groups" — note the smoothness with which the skilled propagandist immediately lines up the "patriots" on his side — were "calling the Alaska Mental Health Act the beginning of an American Siberia." Smoot then asked his audience to consider what might happen if "an unknown John Doe who had no money and no influence" were to refuse on principle to pay part of his income tax, as Gov. J. Bracken Lee, of Utah, had done. Having by now identified himself with both "patriots" and "John Doe" —species that number in the millions — Smoot proceeded to answer his own question.

> It would be quite easy [he wrote] for the government to get him [poor John Doe] in a prison where government-appointed and government-paid psychiatrists could work him over.
>
> If they did nothing more than declare him psychotic, they would ruin him. He would forever be branded a screwball.
>
> If they really wanted to put him out of the way for good, they could administer treatment that would drive him insane.
>
> There are fifty-six different drugs which they could administer (under the pretext of giving treatment) which would produce amnesia and mental disorientation.
>
> There are forty-four drugs which could produce delirium, associated with hallucinations, imaginary voices and so on.
>
> We are well aware of the use of drugs and isolation by Communist governments to produce brainwashing on political prisoners.
>
> Could it happen here?

This, of course, was a horror story promulgated without a shadow of fact or basis, but note the extreme craft used to lend reality to the nightmare. The trick involved the using of seemingly explicit and shocking scientific facts to cloak the mirage: the exact number of drugs that *could* be used, the detail about the dire reactions these *would* induce. None of this, of course, *had* happened; there wasn't one iota of evidence to show that anyone, anywhere, *intended* that it ever should. The entire nightmare existed only in the mind of the narrator and in similar minds, but the clever use of seemingly "hard" facts, coupled with the dreadful images of men being "worked over" and "driven insane," all delivered with the voice of authority, was enough to startle the unthinking into the assumption that these horrible terroristic acts had actually happened or were about to happen.

Psychiatry: a Jewish Plot

The sequel clearly shows the harm that can be done by the rantings of this kind. In the great Southwest, the campaign against mental health attracted to itself every species of rabid fanatic — the ranting anti-Communist, the hate-peddling anti-Semite, the White Supremacist. John Kasper, a segregationist jailed for inciting race riots in the South, testified at Congressional hearings that "psychiatry is a foreign ideology"; it began "with Sigmund Freud, who is a Jew," and today "about 80 per cent of psychiatrists are Jewish . . . one particular race is administering this particular thing." George Rockwell, head of the American Nazi Party, combined the anti-Jewish, anti-Negro, anti-mental-health motifs into a three-way hate formula in describ-

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ing his own ten-day stay in the psychiatric ward of the District of Columbia General Hospital. Hate sheets took up the cry, each reprinting the other's diatribes, the outcry of each lending support and seeming credence to the outcry of the other.

Such frothing on the crackpot fringe customarily is dismissed by most Americans as unworthy of notice. And properly so. The great preponderance of Americans in normal times disdain the Smoots, the Kaspers, the Rockwells, the wild and demagogic voices. But these are not ordinary times. The deep disturbances, the doubts and frustrations and ever-present menace of our age call for a scapegoat, and what has happened in the field of mental health in the Southwest indicates that, to a shockingly large number of persons in these times, almost any kind of scapegoat will do.

In many cities of the South and Southwest, as the *Southwest Review* reported in its fall issue in 1961, the public frenzies whipped up by the hate peddlers have become so virulent that the entire work of mental health has been retarded or abandoned. In Montgomery, Ala., when a mental-health society was organized, it was picketed by the Ku Klux Klan and local anti-Semites. Literature was distributed claiming that the purpose of the society was to "brainwash" Southerners into accepting integration; it was even alleged that there was "a secret hospital" in Alaska where Southerners were sent to have lobotomies performed, making them human robots submissive to communism and integration. The issue became so heated, such fear was generated, that the new society was forced to cease its public meetings.

In another large Southwestern city, funds were needed by the local mental-health association for the maintenance of a center treating patients newly released from mental hospitals. The center had proved its value by helping many mental patients to complete their recovery and return to useful lives; and at first, in organizing its fund campaign, the local social-service group included in its plans the request of the mental-health clinic. But soon the wild rumors started. Mental health was a suspect endeavor; it had about it the taint of subversion, of communism; perhaps the need was being misrepresented and the devious purpose was to undermine the fiber of Americans and make them an easy prey for Communist conspirators. These accusations at first seemed too ridiculous for consideration, but they didn't seem so ridiculous when the bigots managed to blow up a full-scale public gale. Pamphlets were distributed to the public; scurrilous telephone calls became the order of the day. And the mental-health project was defeated.

Unfortunately, these are not isolated examples. Other cities in the

Southwest have experienced similar trials and traumas over the issue. And the Radical Right, aided by its Respectable cohorts, has ballooned this self-created nightmare into a Gargantuan horror that can be used to attack communism, the United Nations, and the U.N.'s World Health Organization. This latter body, commonly called WHO, was created in 1948 to promote a world-wide attack on disease. It has succeeded in cutting the world incidence of malaria in half, and it has coordinated global attacks on tuberculosis, smallpox, leprosy and syphilis. These would seem to be highly estimable endeavors of the kind all men should welcome; but this is not the view of the Radical Right and its allied Respectables. Such forces see in WHO only the concrete evidence of a menacing one-worldism, only a visible fruit of a titanic Socialist conspiracy.

A couple of excerpts from articles in the *American Mercury* and the *National Review* convey the idea. The *Mercury*:

> Psychiatrists are to take the lead in WHO's crash program of brainwashing the world. Those who can be persuaded by the gentle methods of propaganda to go along with the idea of a one-world socialist government will be persuaded. Those who cling to their old notions and refuse to be persuaded *can* be declared insane or mentally ill.

The *National Review*:

> The gentler techniques of brainwashing already are appearing in the swiftly moving science of mental health. An unknown and mysterious *They* are making plans for *You*. *You* are going to have your brain washed so you can become a well-regulated little citizen of the world.

The Dan Smoot who could play a hand in stimulating such delusions obviously is a man who deserves some attention, especially since he has been, and is, the well-beloved of eminent business Respectables. After his departure from the H. L. Hunt Radical Right ranch, it did not take Dan Smoot long to find a new angel. Soon he was establishing a fine rapport with D. B. Lewis, an ardent Los Angeles right-winger.

Bones to Chew On

In 1956, Smoot took his handsome presence and persuasive voice to Los Angeles, where he spoke before the Freedom Club. Lewis, who runs the Lewis Food Co., purveyors of Dr. Ross Dog Food, Skippy and other pet products, was in the audience, heard Smoot, and promptly became enchanted with the personality and ideas of the man. The ideas are worthy of note and have been clearly exposed by Smoot himself in speeches and interviews. His own direct quotes best describe him:

> I equate the growth of the welfare state with socialism and socialism with communism. . . .
>
> The Communist conspiracy in Washington is even worse than it was in the days of Alger Hiss and Harry Dexter White. The State Department is doing the work of the

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Communists better than they can do it themselves. . . .

We should solve the problem of Red China's admission to the United Nations, not by trying to keep Red China out, but by getting out of the United Nations ourselves and getting the United Nations out of the United States. . . .

The United States Government for many years, while crushing the nation with taxes for the ostensible purpose of fighting communism, has been preparing for strategic surrender of this nation to world Communist-Socialist control—and preparing the public for acceptance of the idea. . . .

As for a specific program, Smoot would support Katanga; invade Cuba and oust Fidel Castro; pull our troops out of West Germany and let the Germans fight the Russians there; boycott Russia if Russia doesn't withdraw her troops from the satellite nations; impeach Chief Justice Warren; scuttle Social Security and the Welfare State. Though he is not a member of the John Birch Society, he urges support for the Birchers — and the Birchers reciprocate by calling for support for him.

These ideas mesh perfectly with the ideas of Lewis, the big dog-food man who is Smoot's principal sponsor. Lewis is president of the Organization to Repeal Federal Income Taxes, Inc., and he calls the income tax "one of the most vicious laws ever passed." Like Robert Welch, Smoot and Hunt, Lewis sees Communists everywhere. "Communists are invading our schools, colleges, churches and communications," he says, giving the impression that they have invaded almost everything there is to invade; and again like Smoot, Hunt and Welch, Lewis equates liberalism with the Menace, insisting that "extension of the Welfare State is the only way Communists can take over this country."

Powerful Purse Strings

With sponsor and mouthpiece, Respectable and Radical, in such perfect ideological agreement, the Lewis-Smoot combine has come virtually out of nowhere to become a truly awesome propaganda medium throughout the West and Southwest. Before he met Lewis, Smoot says, the big television networks had been blunt in rejecting his "freedom" program. Lewis changed all that. Smoot himself credits Lewis with using the big stick of economic pressure to force the networks to give Smoot's program time on the air. The way Lewis operated to achieve this objective is undoubtedly the same way he acted recently with one California newspaper. The paper had committed the cardinal indiscretion of criticizing the right wing, defending the United Nations and backing some of President Kennedy's liberal programs. The Lewis Food Co. canceled all its advertising with this explanation: "Mr. Lewis is spending so much money promoting conservative causes that he doesn't want to dilute his effort."

The Lewis ukase against dilution evidently was the kind of argument that brought radio and television to heel. Smoot, once flatly rejected by the networks, was welcomed with such open arms that he was soon carrying the Radical Right message into some twenty or more states.

With the voice and manner that lend a patina of reality to even the most outrageous fable, he rapidly became so overwhelmingly popular that D. B. Lewis, his sponsor, today considers Dan Smoot the greatest salesman dog food ever had.

We've sponsored everything from *Hopalong Cassidy* to *Tarzan* [Lewis told Fletcher Knebel, of *Look*], but Dan is far and away the best seller.

I'm getting more for my advertising dollar than any businessman in America. People get so excited over Dan's show, they'd feed the dog food to people, if we'd let them. Thousands write us, and hundreds of thousands buy the product because they like the program.

Obviously, in modern America, patriotism is the best shill. It sells everything from dog food to safety razors to gasoline; and if the American people are being sold myths instead of truth, if they become in the process brainwashed into the frenzies of hate that can lead only to nuclear war, what does it matter? D. B. Lewis and Patrick Frawley and Joe Crail and Richfield Oil are getting their advertising dollar's worth; they're doing great business at the super-patriotism stand, and, as everyone knows, what's good for business is good for the country.

The Handsome Dowry

Anyone disposed to dismiss the Radical Right movement of 1961-62 as the work of isolated extremists in our culture — an attitude that President Kennedy and others in high places seem to adopt — ignores the basic difference between this wave of ultra-conservatism and its predecessors. For the Radical Right of 1962 depends not on the bold and unscrupulous moves of a lone opportunist like McCarthy; it represents not just the individual, multi-million-dollar effort of an H. L. Hunt; on the contrary, it stands as the symbol of the wedding of fanatics with some of the largest corporations and the most powerful businessmen in the nation. This is its meaning and its significance. The Respectables have turned the Radicals from freaks into a force.

The role of Big Business in its sponsorship of the Radical Right has become evident in many sections of the country. In California, the 1961-62 wave of seminars, alerts and schools established sponsorship links not just to Schick and Technicolor and Richfield Oil and Dr. Ross Dog Food, but to such masive corporations as Southern California Edison Co., Tidewater Oil, Carnation Milk, Papermate Pen — and to others less well known, such as Knott's Berry Farm and the David Bradley Co. In Texas, the Texas division of Dow Chemical Co., one of the national leaders in its field, sponsored a series of "American Citizenship" lectures conducted by an organization known as Free Enterprise, Inc., whose lecturer distributed such literature as a "Labor Boss Analysis of the Voting Records" of the 1959 Texas Legislature.

These are all clear indications of the far-ranging ties that bind Respectable and Radical together, but the extent to which the Respectables are willing to go in their determination to turn back the clock to pre-New Deal days — and the infinite variety of major businesses that can be enlisted in this enterprise — has

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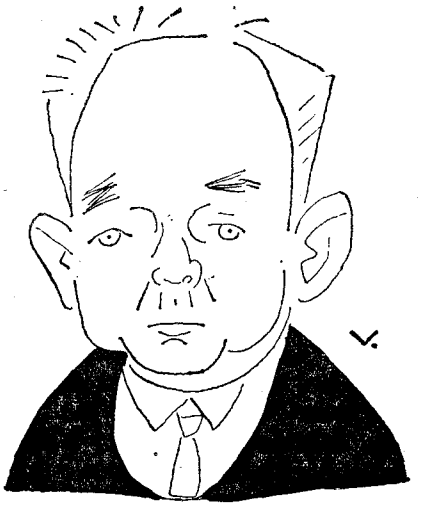
been demonstrated most graphically in the affiliations of the most Radical Right group of all, the John Birch Society. The original governing council of the Birchers was loaded with three former presidents of the National Association of Manufacturers and with business moguls, many unknown to the nation at large, who practically dominate the economic life of their communities.

The extremism of Robert Welch has been by now well-publicized; it has alienated the more sober and responsible segments of American citizenry; and it has been principally responsible for building a backfire against the Radical Right. Robert Welch has become almost a dirty name among the brethren because he has brought to the cause a degree of opprobrium, and even Barry Goldwater has gently dissociated himself from a tie that he recognizes might become a political liability. The pain of the faithful with Welch for the unwelcome notoriety he has harvested has its ludicrous aspects, for the Robert Henry Winborne Welch, Jr., of 1962 is the same Robert Henry Winborne Welch, Jr., whom the Respectables were eager to buy in 1958 and 1959 and 1960 and 1961. Welch hasn't changed one iota; all that has happened is that public exposure of his ideas has made Welch himself unacceptable.

The Welch Saga

But the point to keep steadfastly in mind is that the Respectables did not support a pig in a poke when they bought Welch. It took a few years and considerable acquired notoriety before the mass media of information caught up with Welch and turned him inside out to public view; but his original sponsors knew the man for what he was from the start. And they still loved him.

Welch was born in North Carolina in 1899 and was educated at the University of North Carolina and the U. S. Naval Academy at Annapolis. His active business life was spent as a salesman and executive of the James O. Welch Candy Co., run by his brother in Belmont, Mass. In the business world, he acquired some prominence and some prominent connections, as is evi-



Robert Welch, Jr.

denced by the fact that he served for seven years as an NAM director, was regional vice president of the organization for three years, and served as chairman of its Educational Advisory Committee. In 1957, Welch quit the candy business to devote all of his energies to anti-communism.

When he did, he committed his thoughts to paper in a book that he later was to insist was just "a private letter." However, the "private letter" had the bulk of a book, the look of a book and the feel of a book. It was called *The Politician*, and it was the self-exposure of a mind that saw communism and treason everywhere. The man of the title was none other than Dwight D. Eisenhower, that beloved General and hero-President who, Welch was convinced, had been "a dedicated, conscious agent of the Communist conspiracy."

There was this much to be said of Welch: in branding Eisenhower with his suspicions, he gave him some eminent company. George Catlett Marshall was to Welch also "a conscious, deliberate, dedicated agent of the Soviet conspiracy. . . . " Welch believed that John Foster Dulles was "a Communist agent"; that Franklin Roosevelt was guilty "of plain unadulterated treason"; that Nelson Rockefeller was planning "to make the United States a part of a one-world Socialist government"; and that Chief Justice Warren should be impeached because "he has taken the lead in . . . converting this republic into a democracy" and because democracy is "a weapon of demagoguery and a perennial fraud."

Such was the nightmare world of Robert Welch. It seems safe to say that the normal reaction of sensible men, exposed to such destructive fantasies, would have been to shun their author as one shuns the plague. But the very reverse occurred when Welch decided to found the John Birch Society. The organization meeting took place in Indianapolis on December 8 and 9, 1958. There, eleven prominent and wealthy men met and consulted with Welch. Each was given a copy of *The Politician*. They read the book and told Welch it wouldn't do; after all, even these men had trouble visualizing Eisenhower as a Communist. But it is significant of the kind of men they were that they didn't disavow Welch on the spot. Instead, they listened to him for two days while he expounded his views on communism in a tape-recorded monologue that later was to become *The Blue Book* of the John Birch Society.

In this it becomes apparent that Welch's view of history is as distorted as are his views of virtually every prominent American of the last two decades. World War II was "largely brought on through the world-wide diplomatic conniving of Stalin's agents" — not by Hitler, as everyone has supposed. The Communists had "the full cooperation of our government" both during World War II and in the postwar period, and this explains their success everywhere in the world. For Welch there was no distinction between a democratic-Socialist government and an authoritarian-Communist one. For him Norway, Iceland and Finland were communistic; Hawaii was Communist-controlled; and the Communist design was to convert the U. S. "into a Socialist nation, quite similar to Russia itself in its economy and political outlook."

To block this onward sweep of communism, to reverse the tide that he saw engulfing us from all directions, Welch proposed the formation of an activist organization — the John Birch Society, named after an OSS captain who had been killed by Chinese guerrillas ten days after

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World War II had ended. Welch proposed to establish reading rooms, to promote the wider dissemination of right-wing literature, to form "front" organizations for specific purposes, to break up liberal rallies by use of hecklers—to use the same "mean and dirty" tactics, in other words, the Communists themselves employed. The John Birch Society was to be a monolithic organization, completely dominated by Welch, its objectives fixed by him; and the goal was to be the acquisition of a million dedicated members who would stop at nothing to "save" America.

This was the program that the eleven wealthy Respectables who met with Welch in Indianapolis bought hook, line and sinker. Since they all had access to *The Politician,* since they had listened to Welch's frequently cockeyed interpretations of recent history and his equally cockeyed magnifications of the domestic Communist menace, it follows that they bought Welch's prescription with their eyes open, in full knowledge of what it implied — and that they bought it because they liked it.

Men at the Helm

The eleven men at the Indianapolis sessions at which the John Birch Society was born have never been publicly identified, but there is every reason to believe that all were among the men who comprised the first governing council of the society. This council, an advisory group to the leader that is charged with the selection of a new leader if Welch himself should ever be assassinated by the Communists, covered a broad spectrum of American public and economic life. Following is the roster of its members, as published in the 1959 edition of Welch's *The Blue Book*:

Dr. N. E. Adamson, Boston surgeon, assistant medical director of the New England Mutual Life Insurance Co.

Thomas J. Anderson, of Nashville, Tenn., editor and publisher of *Farm & Ranch,* a periodical with a 1.3 million circulation.

T. Coleman Andrews, former Commissioner of Internal Revenue in the Eisenhower administration; chairman of the board of two large insurance companies.

Spruille Braden, former ambassador to foreign countries, former Assistant Secretary of State; long identified with Latin American affairs.

Col. Laurence E. Bunker, former personal aide to Gen. Douglas MacArthur during the occupation of Japan and the Korean War.

S. J. Conner, Chicago, president of Conroth Co.

Ralph E. Davis, president of General Plant Protection Corp., of Los Angeles.

Dr. S. M. Draskovich, author of *Tito, Moscow's Trojan Horse,* and editor-in-chief of *Srpska Borba* (The Serbian Struggle), a weekly newspaper in Chicago.

William J. Grede, president of Grede Foundries, Inc., Milwaukee, and former president of the NAM and former head of International YMCA.

E. P. Hamilton, president of the Hamilton Manufacturing Co., Two Rivers, Wis.; former president of the Wisconsin Manufacturers Association.

A. G. Heinsohn, Jr., president of Cherokee Mills, Sevierville, Tenn., one of the nation's large textile manufacturers; author of *One Man's Fight for Freedom.*

Dr. Granville F. Knight, Santa Barbara, Calif., physician and authority on the misuse of chemicals and adulterants in foods.

"I've Decided You're Extinct"

Fred C. Koch, president of Rock Island Oil & Refining Co., Wichita, Kansas, and a strong supporter of right-to-work legislation.

Alfred Kohlberg (now dead), a charter member of the John Birch Society and former head of the notorious "China Lobby" that supported Chiang Kai-shek.

Dean Clarence Manion, Hub Russell's 1954 luncheon companion, promoter of For America and proprietor of *Manion's Forum.*

Frank E. Masland, Jr., president of C. H. Masland & Sons, carpet manufacturers of Carlisle, Pa., an explorer and a director on the boards of many organizations.

N. Floyd McGowin, president of the W. T. Smith Lumber Co., of Chapman, Ala.

W. B. McMillan, president of Hussman Refrigerator Co., St. Louis, Mo.

Adolphe Menjou, Hollywood actor.

Dr. Revilo P. Oliver, professor of classical languages and literature at the University of Illinois.

Cola G. Parker, former president of Kimberly-Clark Co. and a former president of NAM.

M. R. Phelps, former Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Arizona.

Louis Ruthenburg, chairman of the board of Servel Inc., Evansville, Ind.

James Simpson, Jr. (now dead), another charter member.

Robert W. Stoddard, president of Wyman-Gordon Co., Worcester, Mass., one of the world's largest manufacturers of metal forgings; scion of a family that holds a powerful interest in the only morning and evening newspapers in Worcester and in the city's dominant radio station; also a former president of Associated Industries of Massachusetts.

Lt. Gen. Charles B. Stone III (USAF, Ret.), who succeeded Claire Chennault as commander of the 14th Air Force in China in World War II.

Ernest G. Swigert, president of Hyster Co., Portland, Ore., former president of NAM.

Such are the Respectables who identified themselves so closely with the aims and purposes of the John Birch Society that they lent their

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names and their prestige, not just to sponsorship, but to active participation as members of its governing council. This deep involvement of supposedly solid citizens in the propaganda activities of what has often been labeled "the lunatic fringe" is a vital circumstance that makes the Radical Right of 1962, if no less lunatic, decidedly something more than a fringe.

Who Are These Men?

In the long list of the eminents who backed up Robert Welch on the Birch governing board appear many names not familiar to the American public at large. They are not the kind of names that have made big headlines in the metropolitan press or the large news weeklies, but they remain the kind of names no American should take lightly. The men who bear them control large corporations; they often hold virtually life-and-death power over jobs, businesses, social standing in their own particular locales; they are the kind of names that are synonymous with the whole structure of American business from the local Rotary Club and Chamber of Commerce up through state trade associations to the national level.

Take, for example, the name of Frank E. Masland, Jr. Unknown to the vast American public, the name of Masland is a force to be conjured with in the busy Pennsylvania city of Carlisle. A county-seat town with an old, shell-pocked Civil War courthouse, Carlisle is best known to the world at large as the site of the Carlisle Army Barracks, as the home of Dickinson College and the town from which football star Jim Thorpe sprang to fame. But in Carlisle itself, it is the name of Masland that matters. The great C. H. Masland carpet mill is the city's major industry, and Frank Masland became its president in 1930 and remained its dominating force. He was also president and director of the Carlisle Homes Co., a bank director, a trustee of Dickinson College. No casual visitor to Carlisle can escape an encounter with the name of Masland. Stop at a hotel there, and in your hotel bedroom, along with the customary Bible, you will find a

M.E.S.A. Educator

"What's He Done?"
"Overthrowed da Govamen."

glowing brochure stressing the history and importance of the Masland carpet enterprise. And so, when a name like Masland crops up on the governing council of the John Birch Society, it means that the Radical aims and purposes of Robert Welch have received a most distinguished and highly Respectable blessing.

Similarly, take the name of Robert W. Stoddard, head of the Wyman-Gordon Co., of Worcester, Mass. Worcester, with a population of 202,612, is the third largest city in New England, trailing only Boston and Providence; and Wyman-Gordon, a name perhaps not easily recognized outside the financial pages, vies with the Norton Company, the world's largest manufacturer of abrasives, for the distinction of being the kingpin industry in the city. Some 2,500 of Worcester's workers labor for Wyman-Gordon.

Robert Waring Stoddard, fifty-five, a charter Birchite and, like Masland, one of that original select governing council, succeeded his father, Harry Galpin Stoddard, as president of Wyman-Gordon. He is a power in other industrial and civic groups: a director of the Worcester County Trust Company, the First National Bank of Boston, the Boston and Maine Railroad, the United-Carr Fastener Corp., the Crompton & Knowles Loom Works; a trustee of the Worcester County Institution for Savings and Worcester Polytechnic Institute, the Municipal Airport Commission, the Community Chest. The list goes on and on. Stoddard's father, Harry, was similarly influential in Wyman-Gordon, in life-insurance companies and various businesses; and he held, in addition, a key position in the information media in Worcester. In 1915, Harry Stoddard bought a hefty interest in the local newspaper, and from 1925 until February 9, 1961, he served as president of the Worcester Telegram Publishing Co., publishers of the morning *Telegram* and the afternoon *Gazette,* the only daily papers in Worcester. The publishing company also operates the city's dominant radio station.

Blackout in Worcester

Such multiple local interests make the Stoddards virtually the dominant family in Worcester, and so an intriguing situation developed in early March, 1961, when the John Birch Society erupted into the news as a major sensation — such a major sensation that there were even rumbles of concern in Congress about its extremist smears. What, in this crisis, with Robert Waring Stoddard sitting on the governing council of the Birch Society, did the Stoddards' Worcester newspapers do with the story of the hour? The answer to that question has to be: not much.

The combined space given to the running Birch Society story by the *Telegram-Gazette* for the entire month of March totaled only 3 1/12 columns, all of it wire-service copy, all of it displayed in such strategic, eye-catching positions as pages 10, 11 and 32. The crux of journalistic dilemma was achieved on March 31, when the Associated Press ran a story disclosing the names of the men who sat on the Birch council. The Worcester newspapers on that particular day were busy headlining items like "Congressman Assails Birch Society Critics" and "Founder of Birch Society Denies He Called Ike Red." Somehow there was just no space for that long list of Birch Society council names, or even for a teeny little item of local interest —mention of the fact that the name of Stoddard had appeared upon it.

Boston and Providence newspapers, *The New York Times, Time* magazine and other media were having themselves a ball with Birch stories. Some of them even sent reporters to Worcester to try to get

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some information on Robert Stoddard, but the *Telegram-Gazette* barred the doors of its morgue against such interlopers and acted toward its public as if it had never heard the name dropped. Some Worcester residents with catholic reading tastes naturally sampled the out-of-city press and were aware of what was happening in the world of the Birch Society; and so, early in the week after the Associated Press list of Birch council members had been published virtually everywhere except in Worcester, a housewife possessed of a pixie streak telephoned the *Telegram-Gazette's* advertising department and offered to pay for an advertisement to get the missing list of council names in the papers. The *Telegram-Gazette,* of course, rejected her kind offer of aid.

This Worcester sequence has been stressed at some length because it illustrates the hammerlock Respectables in high places can help the Radical Right clamp upon our society. Not just the one-sided promotion of fanatical anti-communism and of "anti-everything" schools and seminars, is involved in this issue, but the suppression of accurate information so necessary for an intelligent understanding of who and what is at stake. Certainly, the newspaper-reading public of Worcester was entitled to the information, in their own local papers, that the publishing Stoddard family was closely tied, through its most prominent and active figure, to the John Birch Society which the papers were defending in headlines. Forewarned, the reader might seek his news elsewhere, or at least weigh with a grain of caution what he found displayed before his nose; but in Worcester, where the Stoddard name was concerned, the newspaper reader got, not information, but a blackout.

The Radical Right, by itself, could never accomplish such a feat. This was a deed that only the Respectables could perform.

PART IV THE IDEA FACTORIES

THE LOVE AFFAIR that unites the big money of the Respectables with the rabble-rousing exhortations of the Radical Right nowhere shows more clearly than in the financing of various idea factories that are devoted to two main purposes: rolling back the tide of social legislation passed in the last thirty years, and halting — in the name of a holy crusade, of course — the menace of "communism" (equated with any liberal legislation), even at the cost of a so-called "preventive war" to protect our freedoms.

In the manufacture and dissemination of the kind of propaganda that promotes these causes, the Respectables hold the key. This, by its very nature, is a big-money operation, and literally nothing could be accomplished, no impact could be made on the public mind, without the bankrolls of the Respectables and the channels of information which, through these same bankrolls, they help to nourish and control.

The result is that much of the most radical right-wing literature in the country is the considered and calculated achievement, not of the lunatic fringe, but of some of the largest, most powerful and most eminently Respectable of our corporate giants. The spoor from the materials used to promote public frenzy leads to representatives of such behemoths as General Motors, General Electric, Boeing, Lockheed, U. S. Steel, the American Iron and Steel Institute. When one speaks of the Radical Right and "the lunatic fringe," one does not ordinarily think of such mighty organizations and their rulers, the people who dominate the whole field of Respectable society. But one should, for without the Respectables, the Welches and the Schwarzes would be nothing.

Labor: the Common Enemy

The best place to begin in tracing the community of interest that cements Respectable to Radical probably is the so-called "right to work" laws. One of the great achievements of Franklin Delano Roosevelt was the support he gave, almost as soon as he came to power in 1933, to the labor-union movement. The Wagner Act and other legislation took unions out from under the clubs of strike-breaking cops and the capricious injunctions of anti-labor jurists. Unions became, for the first time, a real force in American society. Even the newspaper profession acquired a union, the Newspaper Guild, and many publishers have yet to recover from the shock left by that horrendous event.

This encouragement of labor unions was a major factor in clipping the previously unfettered wings of business. Strikes and the threat of strikes succeeded in shortening the working hours, raising wages and generally giving labor a potent voice in such matters as plant safety and job tenure. No longer was the millionaire executive the unchallenged lion in the industrial jungle, and inevitably there was a fine frothing and gnashing of corporate teeth. In such circumstances, a golden opportunity arises for any ambitious man who can suggest a way to overcome corporate frustrations.

A veteran opportunist in such matters was a hearty, back-slapping Texan named Vance Muse. He liked to wear ten-gallon hats and stamp around in cowboy boots—and promote causes. Muse, indeed, was such a veteran promoter of causes that he had been called twice before U. S. Senate committees to explain how these worthy endeavors always seemed to put about 40 per cent of the money he managed to raise into his own pocket.

Such minor contretemps, however, did not discourage the resourceful Vance Muse. In 1936, he set out to dream up a new gimmick. Those were the days when the Ku Klux Klan, the German-American Bund and other lunatic organizations were proliferating, and Muse decided to form a society of his own. He called it the "Christian American Associa-

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tion, Inc.," and he set out to find a big bankroll he could tap.

In Texas, where such bankrolls abounded even in depression days, it wasn't too hard. Muse had a friend, John Henry Kirby, a Texas oil and lumber millionaire who was already a director of the semi-military, anti-labor "Sentinels of the Republic." Between them, Muse and Kirby decided that their "cause" should be the cause of anti-labor, and soon they fashioned the slogan, the "God-Given Right to Work," and set up what apparently was the first "Right-to-Work Club" in the nation.

Muse's "right-to-work" enthusiasts made the CIO organizing drive their first target. CIO organizers were branded as "foreign agitators" and "Communist agents." Anti-Negro and anti-Semitic themes were also used. "'Christian Americans' can't afford to be anti-Semitic," Mrs. Muse confided to one interviewer, "but we know where we stand on the Jews all right."

The spirit of the times was such that Muse's initial anti-labor, right-to-work endeavors did not get very far; but it is typical of well-financed, right-wing groups that, though defeated, they never actually die. If one effort fails, they switch to another tack, and they can do this because the kind of money that can support failure and persist is at their disposal. In Muse's case, he switched from public rabble-rousing to the cultivation of legislatures, a field in which money is sometimes even more effective; and by 1943, the American Federation of Labor was reporting with alarm that the "Christian American Association" had "fathered and pushed into law" right-to-work bills in Texas and Mississippi.

These initial successes brought corporate money rolling into Vance Muse's organization, and right-to-work legislation was pushed in other states, especially in Florida and Arkansas. In Arkansas, about the time the war ended, Muse's "Christian Americans" joined forces with the "Veterans' Industrial Association" led by James T. Karam, who in more recent years played a leading role in organizing the mobs around the Little Rock High School in the desegregation crisis. In 1945, Karam's V.I.A. was denouncing "labor bosses" and "foreign-born agitators," and it was waving the flag in typical veterans' fashion and proclaiming: "We are prepared and ready to fight if we have to."

An estimated 400,000 leaflets attacking labor were circulated throughout Arkansas, and the Muse-Karam combine acquired such notoriety for its anti-CIO endeavors that the late Thomas L. Stokes, New York *World-Telegram* columnist, commented that Karam had a reputation as "a strong-arm leader" and "the atmosphere about his Little Rock headquarters is quite alarming because of the gangster touch."

Missionary Comes Home

What alarmed Stokes, however, didn't alarm others. Especially, it didn't alarm Dr. George Stuart Benson, president of Harding College at Searcy, Ark. Dr. Benson, after serving for eleven years as a missionary in China, had returned to America in 1936 and assumed the presidency of Harding. The college was operated by the Church of Christ, a fundamentalist sect that eschews most modern doctrine, including Darwin's theory of evolution. As its head, Dr. Benson began to write and talk about the fundamentals of Americanism, and in the early postwar period, he began to gear his speeches to the theme that the free-enterprise system would be lost "unless American industry succeeds in reselling our own people on the fundamentals of our way of life."

These fundamentals, in Dr. Benson's philosophy, did not include such items as labor unions. His anti-labor bias was so strong that he even bestowed his blessing on the Muse-Karam combine, and his Harding College began to print V.I.A anti-labor literature. "A group of Veterans here in Arkansas have formed a new labor union," Dr. Benson wrote of V.I.A., "which guarantees the open-shop and prohibits the check-off and which allows an individual to work whether he wishes to belong to a union or not. . . . I believe this is a good organization."

Dr. Benson became such a prominent promoter of right-to-work legislation that he, along with Karam, was called to Florida to testify as an expert in favor of a bill that reportedly had been drafted at the behest of the Florida Association of Industries. Passage of the bill was also advocated by the Florida Voters for Constitutional Government, a branch of the National Committee for Constitutional Government, whose active director was Dr. Edward Rumely, a convicted German agent. This propaganda campaign succeeded so well in Florida that the "right-to-work" legislation was ultimately enacted into law.

Against the background of these anti-labor activities, it is instructive to follow the subsequent career of Dr. Benson and Harding College. In the immediate postwar era, so the story goes, the late Alfred P. Sloan, president of General Motors, heard one of Dr. Benson's patriotic, fundamentalist, anti-labor orations, and there was, almost immediately, a fine meeting of minds. Sloan decided to bankroll Dr. Benson to insure the perpetuation of his good deeds, and in 1949 he made a gift of $300,000 to Harding College.

This pioneering benevolence of Sloan pointed the straight and narrow road to other eminent industrialists who now began to beat a path to Harding College with bankrolls unfurled. The late Charles R. Hook, chairman of the board of Armco Steel, contributed another hefty bundle to Dr. Benson. So did the Falk Foundation of Pittsburgh. So did many others. By the spring of 1961, when Cabell Phillips, of *The New York Times,* visited the Searcy campus, he found on every side visual evidence of the striking prosperity such industrial largess can bring. Ten handsome new college buildings graced the campus, and an eleventh was under construction. Harding's endowment fund had reached an impressive $6 million, Phillips reported, "virtually all of it from industrial donors."

The kind of propaganda that a $6 million industrial bankroll buys is illustrated by what happened at Harding. Dr. Benson set up an outright propaganda affiliate of the college, calling it the National Education Program. N.E.P. occupies rent-free quarters on the Harding campus and is set up as a non-profit, tax-free agency. Its purpose, from the time of its formation, has been to

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produce films which would give Dr. Benson's propaganda a visual impact and to organize Freedom Forums throughout the nation to get the message across. The various themes that are emphasized are, of course, the themes that are dear to the hearts of the Big Business Respectables who are Dr. Benson's financial angels. They include opposition to all welfare legislation, attacks on unionism as "monopolistic," the championing of right-to-work proposals, and attacks on anything that smacks of liberalism or socialism and so can be equated with communism.

Flood from the Right

A veritable flood of right-wing propaganda comes pouring out of Harding's National Education Program. A weekly column written by Dr. Benson is distributed free to 3,000 weekly newspapers; a monthly reprint of one of these columns, titled "Listen, Americans!", is sent in bulk lots to 1,000 business organizations. A monthly newsletter is sold by subscription; a series of high-school study outlines is sent free to any school requesting them; and some thirty motion pictures of high professional caliber have been produced.

One of these films has become one of the most notorious items in the propaganda arsenal of the Radical Right. It is entitled *Communism on the Map,* and it purveys a thoroughly distorted and discredited picture of the world in which we live. According to this alarmist film, communism today dominates the entire globe, except for West Germany, Formosa, Switzerland and the United States. No distinction is made between democratic-Socialist governments and Communist ones. Even Great Britain, our staunch free world ally, is painted pink; even Canada is left in an equivocal "white" status, not quite pink but decidedly not pure because the allegation is made that there are many Communists high in the Canadian Government. This distortion of current events and political philosophy matches step-by-step and thesis-by-thesis the rigid conceptions that had so endeared Robert Welch to those eminent N.A.M. bigwigs at the founding of the John Birch Society in Indianapolis. This is no accident, for *Communism on the Map* was produced at Searcy under the supervision of Glenn Green, an acknowledged member of the Birch Society.

There can be no question about the phoniness of *Communism on the Map.* Even Fred Schwarz has disowned it. Though the film had been shown regularly as an exhibit in Schwarz's supposedly "objective" schools, the master of the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade admitted, when he was challenged by reporter Raudebaugh, that he was unhappy about the film and wasn't going to show it any more. "I give you *touché,*" he said.

Unfortunately, the eminent Respectables who have bankrolled the works of Dr. Benson and Harding have been less scrupulous than Fred Schwarz about exposing the minds of Americans to the kind of propaganda purveyed in *Communism on the Map.* In fact, the Respectables have put on such campaigns to see that no one misses the film's message that it has been shown for the past two years in schools, in service clubs, industrial plants, political forums and defense establishments in all parts of the nation. It has become such standard fare on television that, according to some estimates, it has reached and no doubt helped to prejudice the minds of some ten million Americans.

This unconscionable disregard of truth on the part of the Respectables is in itself a testament to the fanaticism that possesses them in their determination to roll back the tide of the twentieth century, to abolish all welfare and social legislation, or, failing this, to create such panic and prejudice in American minds that no more such legislation can be passed. This is the transparent objective of the Respectables, and they care not by what means it is achieved. The sponsorship of Harding's National Education Program and of *Communism on the Map* demonstrates this cardinal and indisputable fact.

Four-Star Movie

The film has had such wide dissemination largely because great industrial organizations and the Military have combined to cram it down the throats of the American public at endless seminars and industrial indoctrination programs. Boeing Aircraft, holder of $1 billion in war contracts, has shown both *Communism on the Map* and *Operation Abolition,* the House Un-American Activities Committee's equally distorted version of the San Francisco student riots, before captive audiences composed of thousands of its employees. Boeing spokesmen have defended this procedure because, they say, the films "serve as an alarm clock alerting the country and the people to the dangers around us." Lockheed Aircraft (holder of another $1 billion in war contracts) has conducted a similar program. So has Sandia Corp., a wholly owned subsidiary of Western Electric, another prime defense contractor; and so has Space General, a subsidiary of Aerojet, maker of the Polaris missile.

The conspiracy of the Respectables to back the Radicals in all their unrespectable doings shows not just in the promotion of the propaganda that can bring one film an audience of 10 million Americans, but likewise in its creation. The National Education Program on the Harding campus is headed, naturally, by Dr. Benson. Assisting him are two full-time vice presidents—Brig. Gen. William P. Campbell, retired, a former assistant chief of finance for the Department of the Army, and Howard W. Bennett, a former official in the employee-relations division of General Electric.

Companies whose high officials participate in the activities of Harding and N.E.P. read almost like a roster of industry's elite. In a study of the ultra-Right issued by Norman Thomas' Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation last year, it was pointed out that major executives who have played a role in the Harding program come from Monsanto Chemical Co., Swift & Co., Mississippi Power Co., Washington Water Power Co. and Union Bag Camp Corp. Even more intimately associated with the program was giant General Electric, the price-rigging advocate of free enterprise whose Howard Bennett is one of Dr. Benson's vice presidents.

In an effort to test the closeness of the relationship that exists be-

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tween General Electric and Harding, the author of the Socialist Party's pamphlet on the ultra-Right wrote to Bennett, querying him about N.E.P.'s propaganda product.

"The General Electric Company uses the N.E.P. films extensively in their many plants," Bennett promptly wrote back.

He further listed high business officials who, he said, would be willing to vouch for the good work of N.E.P. His list included the names of Ralph Cordiner, W. V. Merrihue, J. J. McCarthy, Frank E. Highton, G. Roy Fugal and Peter Steele, all high officials of G.E. Bennett added the names of other executives in U.S. Steel, Lone Star Cement, Olin Mathieson Chemical and the American Iron and Steel Institute who, he said, also supported the work of N.E.P.

G.E.'s Endorsement

Following the trail one step further, Norman Thomas' aides then wrote to Fugal, the man in charge of employee relations in the sprawling General Electric empire. What, they inquired innocently, like eager businessmen on the prowl for information, did Fugal and G.E. think of Harding's program? Back from Fugal, on official G.E. stationery, came this reply:

> It is a pleasure to endorse, without reservation, the National Education Program. For years, this organization, located at Harding College in Arkansas, has fostered through educational and other means, programs to develop understanding, appreciation, determination and active participation on the part of all Americans.

In the light of the thoroughly exposed, Birchite fallacies in *Communism on the Map,* it was instructive to learn that General Electric "without reservation" still endorsed N.E.P. and all its works. The principles of the Respectables stand exposed in that blanket endorsement.

In fighting anything that smacks of social legislation under the guise of combating communism, the Respectables of American business have wedded the domestic devil to the foreign devil and have used this horrendous image to drive American policy towards the Radical Right and into the arms of the Warfare State. It is a campaign that is graced with all the trappings of wealth and social distinction; it is a drive that, in its obsessions and if it remains unchecked, can lead only to the nuclear war that would spell virtual human extinction. In fact, this war aim is no longer secret; it is boldly and blatantly advocated by front-line spokesmen whom the Respectables finance.

Industry's 'Loyalty Board'

One major agency, the creature of American Big Business, combines in its person the dual themes that a Communist lurks under every bed at home and that the only way to end the threat is to blast the mother lode of communism abroad with every weapon in our nuclear arsenal. This organization carries the high-sounding name of the American Security Council.

The A.S.C. was organized in Chicago in 1955 by a group of former FBI men, bankrolled by leading American industries. Its original purpose was to serve as a private loyalty review board. It was not enough for American industry that Congressional committees had built years-long careers out of tracking down every American who ever incautiously had joined an organization or signed a petition that, by a process of associated guilt, might be tracked to an alleged "Communist front." American industry was evidently convinced that it might be nourishing a number of undetected vipers in its very bosom, and so the A.S.C. was organized to ferret out "Communist and other statist activities." That last phrase was an indication of its real intent. Apparently its quarry was not just Communists or pro-Communists, but anyone who might endorse any "statist" activity — a broad and elastic qualification that could be stretched to include such items as federal aid to education or President Kennedy's current proposal for medical care for the aged.

From this beginning as an industrial super-spy outfit and loyalty board for American industry—an organization without official status or legal responsibility that, nevertheless, could effectively ruin the career of any man by the judgment it passed on him—the American Security Council has now branched out into the field of foreign policy-making, issuing bulletins that advise the President and the State Department of the errors of their ways and suggesting the directions in which they should be leading the nation.

If this sounds like a brash undertaking, like an endeavor too fanciful to be given serious consideration, be assured that it isn't. The A.S.C. earns a triple-A power rating by every standard of judgment employed by contemporary American society. It unites top Respectables from the most powerful business concerns in the nation and the elite of the Military with the spouters and spewers of Radical Right dogma; and it is financed and supported by nearly 3,200 American companies, paying annual dues ranging from $30 for those employing as few as twenty-four workers to $900 for firms employing more than 10,000. By any definition, this is power, and the roster of the men and companies directly and prominently identified with the active work of the council serves only to ratify that view.

The senior advisory board of the A.S.C., for example, sports these names with their industrial ties: Bennett Archambault, president of Stewart-Warner Corp.; John T. Beatty, retired president of United Specialties Company; Charles S. Craigmile, president of Belden Manufacturing Company; Robert Donner, chairman of the Donner Foundation; Wade Fetzer, Jr., chairman of Alexander and Company; Robert W. Galvin, president of Motorola, Inc.; Fred M. Gillies, retired chairman of the board of Acme Steel Company; Wayne A. Johnston, president of the Illinois Central Railroad; Hughston M. McBain, retired chairman of the board of Marshall Field & Company; General R. E. Wood, retired chairman of the board of Sears, Roebuck.

The list of officers of A.S.C. exposes further ties. Kenneth M. Piper, of Motorola, Inc., is a senior vice president; Stephen L. Donchess, of U.S. Steel, a vice president; John G. Sevcik, of Burton-Dixie Corp., a vice president; Russell E. White, of General Electric, a vice president; and Cyril W. Hooper, of Stewart-Warner, secretary-treasurer.

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These distinguished names from industry give power and backing to an equally distinguished list of war-minded spokesmen who comprise what the A.S.C. calls its National Strategy Committee. The committee is headed by Loyd Wright, the California lawyer who stunned a Project Alert rally last December by declaring bluntly, "I'm in favor of a preventive war. . . . If we have to blow up Moscow, that's too bad."

Sitting with Wright on the National Strategy Committee are other advocates of the blow-up-everything school. Foremost among them is Admiral Arthur W. Radford who, as chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, wanted to embroil us in the Indo-China War and, in the Quemoy-Matsu crisis, advocated the atom-bombing of the Chinese mainland if necessary. More recently, Radford has called for "total victory over the Communist system, not stalemate," and he has warned that "the minute we become satisfied with the *status quo*, we have started down the road to defeat. . . ."

Makers of Strategy

These militant warriors have plenty of company on the A.S.C.'s strategy committee. They're backed up by Admiral Chester Ward, who favors the "pre-emptive" strike and believes "the side will win which uses the most effective weapons and *uses them first*." (Italics added.) Admiral Felix B. Stump, another councilor, has been hardly less eager; he has called for the use of tactical nuclear weapons, if necessary, in the Far East, and he has proclaimed that containment isn't enough—we must "move beyond this limited objective."

Associated with these warriors on the policy committee are Lt. Gen. Edward M. Almond, an endorser of the John Birch Society; Dr. Stefan Possony, representative of the foundation-financed Foreign Policy Research Institute and advocate of a "Catonic" strategy toward Russia; General Albert C. Wedemeyer, one of Hub Russell's former contacts and for a long time an adviser for Robert Welch's *American Opinion;* and Admiral Ben Moreell, chairman of the board of Jones & Laughlin, one of the great steel producers, whose firm has acknowledged owning three copies of *Communism on the Map* "for showing to the supervisory personnel throughout the corporation."

To all of these ties must be added one more—the name of W. Cleon Skousen, who is the field director of the American Security Council and who doubles as one of Fred Schwarz's steadiest and most impassioned orators.

Behind the façade erected by this phalanx of Respectables, the American Security Council does its work, both as an agency of domestic repression and an advocate of global militancy. In the domestic field, the A.S.C. brags that it has "seven major files and libraries on communism and statism. It has the largest private files on communism in this country." It proudly proclaims that "defense industries use the council's files as a source of information on their personnel screening programs." Since A.S.C. starts with the basic assumption that all "statism" equates with communism, the kind of judgments that are passed upon the lives of helpless workers becomes fairly obvious. As the Norman Thomas-Socialist report stated: "The private loyalty program which these corporations participate in through the Council is one of the most irresponsible, dangerous attacks on freedom of opinion in the nation today."

And there is every prospect that it will get worse before it gets better. The A.S.C., with an industrial membership of some 3,200 American companies, has its eyes set on a goal of 10,000. If it ever achieves this—and it has grown from slightly over 1,000 member companies in November, 1960—its power will be roughly three times what it is today. And today, according to the A.S.C., its members include "newspapers, magazines, financial institutions, colleges, foundations, industrial firms, transportation companies, department stores and many others. Together, A.S.C. members have offices or plants in thousands of communities and have millions of employees." This is an enormous base of potential power, and the A.S.C. has every intention of using it to a maximum degree. For it proclaims: "A common program followed by these companies will have a tremendous effect."

In the foreign-policy field, the A.S.C.'s strategy follows the militant line that might be expected from the "total victory" and "pre-emptive strike" outcries that the eminent members of its strategy committee have emitted at various Radical Right forums. It has cast aspersions upon various influential members of the Kennedy official family. In a bulletin in June, 1961, it labeled Presidential advisers McGeorge Bundy, Walt Rostow and George Kennan as "defeatists" about communism—and everybody knows what that label means. It has cast a similarly critical eye upon Chester Bowles, Adlai E. Stevenson and Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., for taking the line that there can be little possibility of world disarmament unless the United States acknowledges one of the self-evident facts of life, the existence of Red China. To the A.S.C. the very idea of the possible admission of Red China to the United Nations is anathema. Such an action, it says, "would so completely change the character of the organization that it would no longer be in our national interest to associate our country with its actions."

'Total Victory'

The A.S.C. similarly has opposed nuclear test-ban talks. It looks with horror and suspicion upon the proposal to create a nuclear-free zone in Europe. It denounces any suggestion that we should withhold nuclear weapons from our allies in order to prevent the spread of such world-destructive power and reduce the chances of nuclear holocaust; on the

Man on Horseback

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contrary, it favors the wide dissemination of nuclear capacity—"properly safeguarded," of course—to all our European allies. On Cuba, it criticizes the Kennedy Administration for not having used the military force necessary to oust Castro in the Bay of Pigs invasion of April 17, 1961, and it advocates "immediate bold and resolute action," envisioning the sweep of communism over the entire Western Hemisphere and the isolation of the United States in an encircling Red wall unless we use force to prevent it.

The solutions of force—in other words, the solutions of ultimate and inevitable war—represent the formula for dealing with the problems of our time that has received the backing of the Respectables, both those in the braid of the Military and those in gray flannel suits, who wield enormous power through the medium of A.S.C.

Brainwashing the Brass

The American Security Council is not the only business-financed giant industriously promoting the rabid anti-communism and the militant concepts of foreign policy that can end only in world disaster. It has eminent and distinguished counterparts in Respectable idea factories working round-the-clock to indoctrinate the Military, and through the Military the American public, with beliefs that can lead only to total war in pursuit of the mirage of "total victory." A clear personal link between these idea factories and the American Security Council may be found in the figure of Dr. Stefan Possony, who sits on the national strategy committee of A.S.C. and is one of the principal figures in the foundation-financed Foreign Policy Research Institute located at the University of Pennsylvania.

Sen. J. William Fulbright (D., Ark.) called attention last year in his famous memorandum on the participation of the Military in Radical Right seminars to the influence over American policy being exercised by the Foreign Policy Research Institute and the Institute for American Strategy, organizations that are both financed by the Richardson Foundation. Senator Fulbright was especially concerned because these two institutes were conducting seminars at the National War College under the auspices of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

Role of War College

Fulbright's point was well taken; for, though it may not be generally recognized by the American public, the National War College is one of the most important idea-formulating agencies of the federal government. It is charged specifically "with grooming already experienced and promising military and civilian leaders for positions of highest responsibility in the service of their country," according to its former commandant, Lt. Gen. Thomas L. Harrold. In the first fourteen years of its existence, some 1,452 of its graduates (79 per cent) were still on active duty. The majority were officers in the Armed Services, but "a significant 25 per cent (over 360) are civilians in the Department of State, Department of Defense, Central Intelligence Agency, U.S. Information Agency, National Security Agency and others," Gen. Harrold wrote. "State Department graduates are serving as ambassadors, assistant secretaries, deputy chiefs of mission and in other responsible positions in Washington and abroad. In the military, many have advanced to the highest echelons in their Services, serving in the Pentagon or as senior commanders of Joint, Combined or Service commands throughout the world."

Obviously, the men and the forces that help to mold these minds help to mold the entire direction of American domestic and foreign policy. It becomes of far-reaching significance, therefore, to see just who are the instructors at the National War College, what forces they represent, what ideas they purvey.

Fulbright's memorandum on the Military afforded important clues that virtually no one in any responsible position of government has seen fit to follow through to this day. Fulbright pointed out that both the Foreign Policy Research Institute and the Institute for American Strategy were financed by the Richardson Foundation. The obvious questions, unasked by anyone in government, were: What is the Richardson Foundation? And does it have a bias?

The foundation derives its money from the Vick Chemical Co., and in 1958 it had assets of more than $13 million. This was a decidedly sizable bankroll, and with it the Richardson Foundation has financed some hard right-wing endeavors. The American Enterprise Association, the Navy League and the Robert E. Lee Memorial Foundation have benefited from its largess; and in 1959, according to Norman Thomas' Socialist Party report, the Richardson Foundation contributed $25,000 "to a South African leadership exchange program in Johannesburg to bring over white apologists for the racist apartheid system."

These are relatively peripheral activities of the Richardson Foundation; its major endeavor may be found in the support of the two institutions set up for the specific purposes of drafting foreign-policy suggestions and trying to steer American official policy in the charted direction. In the years 1958, 1959 and 1960, the Richardson Foundation contributed $153,000 to the Foreign Policy Research Institute and $108,000 to the Institute of American Strategy. In addition, it supplied $50,000 to both for their joint conduct of the 1959 seminar of the National War College, an endeavor that carried the explicit blessing of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

The key figure in the well-in-

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tegrated maneuver that finds Vick Chemical money filtering through the Richardson Foundation and into institutes that help to fashion foreign policy is Frank R. Barnett, director of research for the parent Richardson Foundation and the Institute of American Strategy. Barnett, a one-time Rhodes scholar, has been identified since 1951 with militant anti-Communist policies. He has suggested, for example, the formation of a foreign legion made up of refugees from communism; the creation of a separate Cabinet post and a joint Congressional committee on cold-war strategy; a career service in propaganda and psychological warfare, and the establishment of a West Point of political warfare.

'Protracted Conflict'

A major article of belief with Barnett and others whom he has rallied around him is that of "protracted conflict" with the Soviet Union. This conviction is based on "the assumption that there will be no change in Communist behavior and ultimate objectives that could possibly permit an acceptable accommodation with the West." The philosophy of protracted conflict is realistic enough to recognize that there will be changes inside and outside the Soviet orbit, but no changes will change the essentials—"the ultimate objective of world domination as an immutable and dominant force in Communist strategy." Obviously, to men holding such views, Soviet actions become relatively meaningless, Soviet change a factor of no consequence. The increasing Westernization of Russia and of a younger generation there that increasingly apes American ways to the despair of old and hard-line Communists (as detailed so well in Harrison Salisbury's *New York Times* series this year), becomes a matter of no consequence in our calculations. Nor can we consider in weighing our policy the abundant evidences of a deepening schism between Russia and China. Policy must not be altered by these altered conditions; "protracted conflict" can conceive only of an immutable villainy and lust for conquest in the Russian mind.

In purveying this philosophy, Barnett has garnered for himself a wide and a highly influential audience. He has become a frequent lecturer to the National War College, the Industrial College of the Armed Forces, the Army and Navy War Colleges—and to national conventions of the American Medical Association, the National Association of Manufacturers and the Reserve Officers Association. An academic rationale for Barnett's theories of "protracted conflict" is provided by the second of Barnett's institutes, the Foreign Policy Research Institute at the University of Pennsylvania.

This scholarly wing of the Richardson-Barnett enterprises is headed by Dr. Robert Strauz-Hupé, a Viennese who came to the United States as a young man and a believer in the hard-boiled, sheer-power school of international affairs. Working under Strauz-Hupé in the Foreign Policy Research vineyard are two other important figures. One is Colonel William Kintner, who was still on active duty with the Plans Division, Office of the Assistant Chief of Staff for Military Operations, when he was first detailed for service at the institute. Last, but hardly least, is Dr. Stefan T. Possony, councilor of A.S.C. and director of International Studies of the Hoover Institution, Stanford, Calif.

The speed with which Strauz-Hupé, Kintner and Possony have moved into a position of commanding influence as foreign-policy oracles was in itself so remarkable as to suggest that somebody up there decidedly must have liked them. It was in 1959, only one year after Barnett had perfected his double institution-Richardson Foundation triumvirate, that the new combine was invited by the Joint Chiefs of Staff to take over key functions of the National War College. Though the National War College had been giving courses on strategy to senior officers for the past ten years, suddenly the entire conduct of the "national strategy seminar" was turned over to the two Richardson-financed institutions. Strauz-Hupé brought his own staff to the National War College, laid out the curriculum and developed a series of lectures that was later expanded into a book, *American Strategy for the Nuclear Age*. This book, in page-proof form, was used as a text the next year, 1960, when the two Richardson institutes again had free reign over the conduct of the National War College seminar. From all of this, it would seem fair to say that the privately drafted program of foreign policy desired by the industrially financed Richardson Foundation has been insinuated, wrapped in the folds of the flag, into the minds of the important officers and civilians attending the seminars of the war college.

Of what does that policy consist? Whither does it drive us?

The 'Forward Strategy'

The answers, given the fixations of their authors, appear inevitable. Barnett's "protracted conflict," envisioning dilemmas impossible of solution except through total victory, leads directly to the gates of World War III. It envisions the necessity for an intensification of the arms race. It brands all negotiation for disarmament, for mutual disengagement in Europe or a nuclear test-ban agreement, as "defeatism." It proposes the more vigorous prosecution of the cold war, especially through a favorite tactic that Barnett defines as "fourth dimensional warfare." He explains that this is a "tough-minded" approach (how we love those virile adjectives) that would carry aggressive action into the "enemy's" territory and would embrace "diverse forms of coercion and violence, including strikes and riots, economic sanctions, subsidies for guerrilla or proxy warfare, and when necessary kidnaping or assassination of enemy elites."

"Enemy elites," of course, might not take kindly to "kidnaping or assassination," and if they proved utterly unreasonable in this regard, we might well have upon our hands the nuclear holocaust whose cost, in their single-minded fixation, our Respectables seem disinclined to weigh. This is no exaggeration of the disaster toward which the Respectables of the Richardson Foundation and its two foreign-policy institutes would drive us; for their program has been spelled out explicitly in a second book authored by Strauz-Hupé, Kintner and Possony—a book produced under the aegis of the Foreign Policy Research

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Institute and entitled *A Forward Strategy for America.*

This "forward strategy" runs the entire gamut of aggressiveness. We should immediately boost our military budget to $65 billion a year because, with our larger industrial base, we can stand this kind of competition better than the Russians can, and such action would put severe strains upon their economy. We should foment revolts in iron curtain countries; we should move in our troops if Russia tries to intervene in our promoted rebellions; we should use tactical nuclear weapons against guerrillas in any country where Russian stooges are causing trouble; and if Russia should take an unreasonable aversion to all this, we must be prepared to strike with nuclear weapons. Listen to some of the words written by the "forward strategists" themselves:

> The priority objective of any American grand strategy is, by a broad margin, *the preservation and enhancement of our political system rather than the maintenance of peace.* . . . All other objectives, such as increased social welfare and continuing economic progress, while interrelated with the primary objective, are of secondary importance. . . . [Italics added.]
>
> If it is our purpose to combat communism, then it follows that our overriding objective is not to preserve peace at all costs, but to destroy the aggressive power of communism. . . .
>
> Shorn of all ideological connotations, our policy must be based upon the premise that *we cannot tolerate the survival of a political system which has both the growing capacity and the ruthless will to destroy us.* We have no choice but to adopt a Catonic strategy. [Italics added.]

Cato, it will be remembered, was the Roman who proclaimed "Carthage must be destroyed." And so, in our day, must Russia. Only it is obvious that the ruthless and eminently Respectable minds that chart for us such a course in the nuclear age are minds that are still filled with the visions of victory that were real possibilities in the days of Carthage and Rome. They are minds that have never sufficiently weighed Einstein's last letter; they are minds unwilling to recognize that the hydrogen bomb has outmoded war as an instrument of national policy and made "total victory" a fantasy, for instead of total victory there can be only total destruction. Yet it is to such a clearly predestined end that the Respectables with Radical Right minds are driving us. The chairmen of the board have yet to be brought, in Adlai Stevenson's classic phrase, "kicking and screaming into the twentieth century."

PART V THE ROAD TO FASCISM

LET US be clear about this: the face of America that emerges from the portrait of the Radical Right of 1962 is *not* the face of fascism as we have known it in Europe. But unmistakably it is a face bearing the marks of a sickness that could develop into fascism. The denigration of democracy, the demand for conformity and the attempt to outlaw the heretic, a patriotism pitched at the level of chauvinism, the faith that military might, rather than diplomacy, can assure our international goals—these are the marks of the illness. And this sickness is a far greater menace in America today than a virtually non-existent, burrowing communism.

U.S. Sen. Stephen M. Young, the outspoken Democrat from Ohio, has told of a vivid personal experience that he had at a Washington dinner party in mid-1961. "A well-known, ultraconservative Congressman," he wrote in the *Saturday Evening Post,* burst out in a tirade that attracted everyone's attention. The Congressman frothed in indignation over "home-grown Communists who chew away at the foundations of our Republic." Senator Young was so visibly annoyed that a veteran diplomat from a European embassy leaned toward him and said: "One thing has always puzzled me about you Americans. You have nightmares about Communist demons burrowing from within. Yet for years American Fascists have grown increasingly dangerous and nobody seems disturbed — least of all your Congressmen."

Other Americans thrown into contact with astute visitors from abroad have been told the same thing. Obviously, the symptoms that we hide from ourselves are clear to those who observe us with vision undimmed by our own special brands of self-delusion.

This is not strange, for many of the cardinal features of European totalitarianism are plain to be seen in the American Ultra movement of 1962. The Radical Right criers of eternal suspicion and discord are backed by the millions of the Respectables, as happened in Europe. Here, as there, all liberal legislation is equated with communism; any opponent of the self-designated patriot is branded as a "Comsymp" or a traitor. As abroad, so here, the Radical Right wraps itself in the folds of the flag as if it alone possesses the attributes of patriotism. It shouts about its "freedom" programs, its dedication to Constitutional rights, its Americanism; it whips up a blind and passionate nationalism that demands "total victory" without stopping to assess the meaning or the cost. In its disregard of truth as exemplified in its written and film propaganda, in its adoption of the technique of slander and threat and intimidation, it employs all the tactics of totalitarian ideology; and in its wedding to the Military, its cries for the pre-emptive strike and the blowing up of Moscow, it is as hellbent on the most inconceivable war in history as were those who started the last war.

What the Ultras Lack

Such are clearly recognizable features of the Respectable-Radical Right. It is too early to say what ultimate force the movement may

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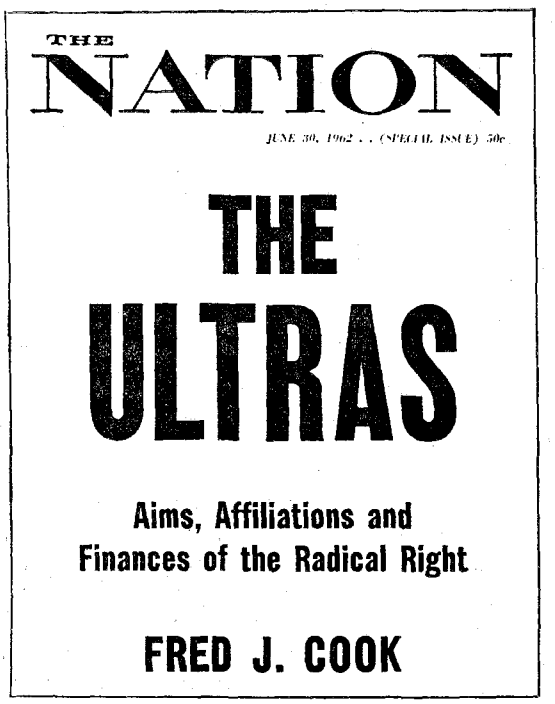
and found that
you didn't know how?



Are you tired of the Birchites, the Militarists, the super-patriots who seem to be taking over your school board?

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muster, to what degree it may finally succeed. Obviously, certain basic and vital ingredients are lacking from the formula. Two are especially important. The Radical Right of 1962 is hydra-headed; it is an "against-everything" movement; it lacks a single scapegoat. And it lacks the thing that Hub Russell sought in 1954—the dynamic leader.

The Respectable-Radical Right has sought to compensate for the first deficiency by building communism into an all-consuming menace. Its strength derives from the anti-integrationists, the anti-Semites, the anti-mental health, anti-fluoridation, anti-income-tax and anti-U.N. advocates. All of these groups unite easily in one great anti-communism crusade; but the great difficulty is that the menace is not quite real. The average American knows full well, if and when he stops to think, that he wouldn't know where the devil to find a Communist if his life depended on it; and when the Radical Right, trying to show him, has to bring forward Eisenhower, his mood is one of derision rather than belief. What the Radical Right needs today is the kind of scapegoat Hitler found in the Jews, one really visible and real enough to steam up the hate of the fanatics and have it spill over into the public consciousness. If the Radical Right ever found such a formula — and a leader — no one knows how far it might be able to go, even in America.

Brainwashing the Children

As it is, the achievements of the Respectable-Radical Right are not inconsiderable. The unconscionable branding of dissent, the creation of a super-patriotic and witch-hunt atmosphere already have imposed upon America a smothering conformity. Having pre-empted patriotism, the Respectable-Radical Right has created in America a virtual vacuum, and into this vacuum charges the ideological vigilante. The land is now filled with his roars — trumpetings that drive the future still farther to the irrational Right.

In San Diego, Calif., on a rainy spring day, a physical education teacher showed students a movie entitled *The Face of Red China.* The film was a strongly anti-Communist documentary, but some students, when they returned to their homes that afternoon, reported to their parents that they had seen some of those Chinese children in the picture actually *smiling.*

This, obviously, was a shocking disclosure. Imagine a Red Chinese child being able to smile! Parents started protesting to the Board of Education; a petition bearing 100 names was submitted, demanding that the picture with those smiling Chinese faces be banned. It was.

Still the intellectual vigilantes were not appeased. In Sacramento, the State Board of Education began to hear demands that films shown in schools, especially in the Los Angeles area, be screened first by "competent people." One school official reported that most of the trouble seemed to stem from the film that inadvertently had recorded some Chinese students smiling for the camera. "The critics said it was a disservice to imply that anyone could be happy under such conditions," he said.

All of this may sound far-fetched, but it isn't. Today the Respectable-Radical Right is mounting a concerted drive to persuade and, if necessary, to force American schools to teach its chosen prejudices and beliefs, its own right-wing version of history and current events. The technique is one that has long found favor with totalitarian ideologists.

In California, the Birchers and the rabid anti-Communist followers of Fred Schwarz have mounted a calculated campaign of pressure against local and state school officials. Dr. Buell G. Gallagher, for a time chancellor of the state's colleges, was smeared in a pamphlet that alleged he was "soft" on communism; he had to defend himself by digging out of his files a vigorous anti-Communist lecture he had often delivered to his classes in the 1940s. He has since returned to the East.

On local levels, the pressures were sometimes even more intense, and both teachers and textbooks came under the fire of vigilantes who saw the Communist menace lurking under every school desk. In Sacramento, the State Board of Education held

"I Hold in My Hand a List of 179 Million Underground Communist Agents"

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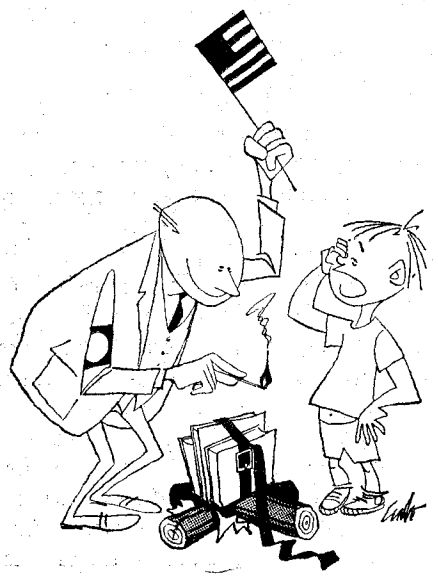
a series of hearings and ended by yielding ground to right-wing pressure groups. Hundreds of changes were ordered in social studies textbooks being used in the elementary grades. Even the title of one eighth-grade civics text was changed from *Building Our Democracy* to *Your Government and You*. This, the board said, was just a better title; it had nothing to do with right-wing pressure, and it was just a coincidence that the word "democracy," so hated by the Ultras, was eliminated in the process. The coincidence seemed hard to believe, especially since the ardent rightists had already forced the deletion from the same book of a chapter on the United Nations and had forced through other subtle textual changes.

And in Arkansas—

What was happening in California was by no means unique. In Searcy, Ark., Dr. George S. Benson and the Harding College that American industry finances, were busy as beavers drafting high-school study outlines in American and world history, civics, economics and government. Each outline suggests textbooks, reference books, pamphlets, tape recordings, speeches and audio-visual aids to be used in the courses.

It is, of course, no accident that each outline suggests the use of tracts and speeches by Dr. Benson and his ultra-conservative colleagues. Schwarz pamphlets are included in the instructional material suggested in the high-school study outlines.



So is material from the House Un-American Activities Committee and from J. B. Matthews, the former chief investigator for Joseph McCarthy, who had even managed to perceive Communists hiding behind every other Protestant pulpit.

The nature of the "facts" that are being spoon-fed into American public schools is clear enough. They are the kind of "facts" one might expect from the creators of *Communism on the Map*, and the purpose is tacitly acknowledged by Perry Mason, superintendent of Harding Academy, who cooperates with Dr. Benson in drawing up the courses. "The purpose of the outlines is to give the kids a direction in their courses," he says. "We try to keep them in the conservative vein." And Dr. Benson adds: "If we don't teach this, ultimately we will lose everything to the Communists."

Spreading the 'Truth'

If truth won't serve us, indeed we may. But truth, patently, is no longer the criteria for the courses of study Dr. Benson and his Harding aides are drafting, and their proposed, propaganda-loaded courses are being accepted as the proper guide lines of patriotic teaching in many schools. Some forty high schools in various states are now using all five study outlines prepared at Harding; many more schools have ordered them; and, in addition, according to a National Education Program brochure, the outlines "have guided several hundred school systems in the establishment of sound courses."

"Lately, interest has been growing at a tremendous clip," Mason said.

It has, indeed. Florida has passed a law making it compulsory to teach high-school juniors and seniors about the evils of communism. The measure was backed by ultra-conservative groups, and its purpose, as discussions about the nature of the proposed course subsequently revealed, embraced far more than the teaching of the facts about communism.

Dr. Fred Turner, assistant director of general education for the Florida State Department of Education,

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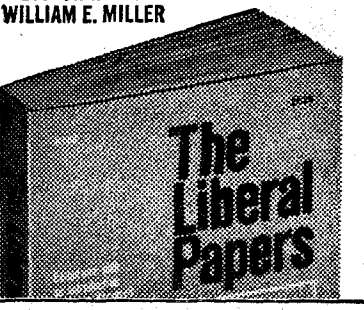

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drafted the outline of the course which all Florida schools will begin teaching this fall. Dr. Gerhardt Niemeyer, professor of political science at Notre Dame University, acted as consultant to the state committee and approved the course. It was, he said, "a tough course on communism." Significantly, Dr. Niemeyer laid down an additional "tough" rule: no student, he said, should be permitted to question the "facts." "The presentation must be very firm and positive," he said, "permitting no challenge from any student to the basic proposition that communism is wrong, and *our way of life is the only way*. Stated differently, academic freedom should not permit academic discussion of whether we are right in this course." (Italics added.)

Even this "tough" course with its added "tough" line did not satisfy the militant rightists. One demanded "a screening board" to test the loyalty and depth of feeling of teachers who were to be permitted to teach this "tough" course. Though the state board didn't go along with this, it left up in the air the additional demand that the course should equate socialism with communism. And it heard criticism that the course is far too limited because it doesn't teach about subversion in America.

State Rep. George Stallings, of Jacksonville, who drafted the act, denounced the course on this score. He was backed up by John McKay, Miami attorney, who said teachers should be required to teach the students about "subversion in Washington and other governments." All the bias of the Radical Right became evident when Stallings further argued strenuously, but futilely, against the inclusion in the teaching manual of a section warning against the pitfalls of hate. Any diminution of hate, in Stallings' book, meant only that "we are opening the door to confusion."

And in Texas —

If all of this seems a far cry from the America of free inquiry and free thought envisioned by the founding fathers, it remains mild compared to what has happened in Texas. There the ideological vigilantes have really done a job.

The Texas drive that has managed to find subversive thoughts lurking between every textbook cover is spearheaded by a sixty-year-old, wealthy cattleman named J. Evetts Haley, the owner of an 11,000-acre ranch. In the fall of 1961, Haley slugged a history professor at a small teachers' college for denouncing *Operation Abolition* as slanted.

The rancher, who says he has "sympathetic ties" with groups seeking textbook censorship in California, Mississippi, South Dakota, Nebraska and Wisconsin, founded a super-patriotic body that, typically, wraps itself in the folds of the flag under the name "Texans for America." Haley insists there is no connection between "Texans for America" and the John Birch Society, although "we share many of the same goals and many of the same members"—an admission that, in itself, describes the kind of judgments that are being passed on textbooks in Texas.

Haley's group scored its first vigilante triumph when, in the fall of 1960, it appeared before the state textbook committee, an official group of fifteen persons appointed by the Texas Education Agency to put its seal of approval on any textbooks used in Texas schools. In this first campaign, Haley's "Texans for America" protested a dozen "language arts" textbooks. Seven were scotched.

Total Victory

Warmed by this victory, the Haleyite organization returned in the fall of 1961 and mounted its big campaign, supported by the Daughters of the American Revolution. This time they attacked every history and geography textbook up for adoption, and not one survived in its pristine state. Every history text being used in the Texas public schools beginning with the fall of 1962 will have been altered to conform to the objections of the Birch-like Haleyites.

The nature of the changes and the cockeyed view of the world Texas school children may be expected to acquire in the future are indicated clearly by the nature of the objections filed by the mental

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vigilantes. They adamantly opposed:

¶Any textbook making favorable mention of the federal income tax, social security, federal subsidies to farmers and schools and TVA.

¶Any textbook making favorable mention of John Dewey, "that nihilist."

¶Any textbook commenting favorably on the United Nations, the memory of the League of Nations, any aspect of UNESCO.

¶Any textbook casting a friendly light on disarmament or racial integration.

¶Any textbook trying to do justice to the memory of Gen. George C. Marshall or the Supreme Court.

¶Any textbook using the word "democracy" to describe this country.

¶Any textbook with a remotely favorable reference to the New Deal, the Fair Deal or the New Frontier.

The distortions of the world of reality implicit in the evils the Haleyites are against are complemented by a recitation of what they are for. *Their* textbooks must look with favor:

¶On Gen. MacArthur, especially in his role of wanting to bomb China in the Korean War.

¶On Chiang Kai-shek and the memory of Calvin Coolidge.

¶On the "traditional" presentation of Christianity and the "traditional" presentation of American heroes.

¶On "patriotic wars."

¶On the memory of Sen. Joe McCarthy.

¶On laissez faire, republicanism as distinguished from democracy, and government subsidies to business.

Haley's Credo

The temptation of rational men, confronted with such a virulent set of prejudices, should have been to ignore them—but not in Texas. True, twenty-seven of the textbooks opposed by rancher Haley and his cohorts were approved by the education committee, but only after the publishers had agreed—and they were given only twenty-four hours in which to agree—to make changes within the framework of Haley-style patriotism.

The Haleyite credo is perhaps best expressed in a manifesto the group has adopted as its textbook guide. It says: "The stressing of both sides of a controversy only confuses the young and encourages them to make snap judgments based on insufficient evidence. Until they are old enough to understand both sides of a question, they should be taught only the American side."

And, obviously, in Texas only the Haley side can be heard. In listening to the objections of the vigilantes, the Texas Education Agency adopted a procedure that flew in the face of fair play and reason. Any extremist could make any wild charge he wanted against a textbook, but only the publisher could be heard in its defense. For example, J. Frank Dobie, Texas' own famous spinner of tales, had called the textbook committee's censorship program "one of the worst things that has happened to Texas education in my lifetime," but when Robert Sherrill, of *The Texas Observer*, asked whether the committee would hear Dobie, its chairman, J. B. Golden, answered in one succinct word — "No."

'Index Expurgatorius'

The result is that, in Texas, there is virtually no opposition to the Haleyites and their followers, who are riding roughshod in a book-banning and book-censorship campaign. The extent to which this experiment in unreason is likely to go is indicated by a further step taken by the Haleyites. They want to eliminate any mention in textbook bibliographies of a long list of the most distinguished writers America has produced. Under Haleyite ideology, young Texans are never to be exposed to contact with the works of Upton Sinclair, Jack London, Ida Tarbell, Lincoln Steffens, Sinclair Lewis, Carl Sandburg, Stephen Vincent Benet, Pearl S. Buck, William Faulkner, Ernest Hemingway, Henry Steele Commager, Bernard De Voto, Theodore Dreiser and Allan Nevins.

That list tells its own story. The victory of the Respectable-Radical Right, if it should ever be achieved on a national scale, would spell the absolute blight of the American mind and spirit.

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PART VI 'STAND UP AND BE COUNTED'

WHEN Chalmers Roberts, of *The Washington Post,* toured the nation this year to study the phenomenon of the upsurge of the Radical Right, he reported that "one finds the liberals acting as though they were in political foxholes. This is especially true in Texas and Arizona."

Liberals were moaning at the time over the training of Yugoslav fliers in the United States under a program sanctioned by the Kennedy Administration, and Roberts quoted one Texas liberal as wailing, "We can't win against that sort of thing."

We certainly can't if liberals stay in their foxholes and permit the ranters of the Respectable-Radical Right to call the national tune. Yet the foxhole has been the habitat of the political liberal ever since the first well-promoted wave of anti-Red hysteria swept the country in 1948. Ever since the Hiss case, to which the *Saturday Evening Post* and the Respectable-Radical Right still cling as the symbol, liberals all too frequently have acted as if they were second-class, suspect citizens; their instinctive reaction has been to shout so loudly that they are not tainted that the public can hardly be blamed at times if it suspects they protest too much. The lack of guts in the liberal camp has been one of its least attractive features.

The evidence abounds. Despite distorted *Operation Abolition* and the indubitable damage it has done as a prize propaganda exhibit of the Radical Right, the annual whopping appropriation for the House Un-American Activities Committee whips through Congress with hardly a dissenting voice being raised. It has been rumored on seemingly credible authority that a great number of Congressmen would like to oppose it, but when the chips are down only six in the House actually have the guts to vote against it.

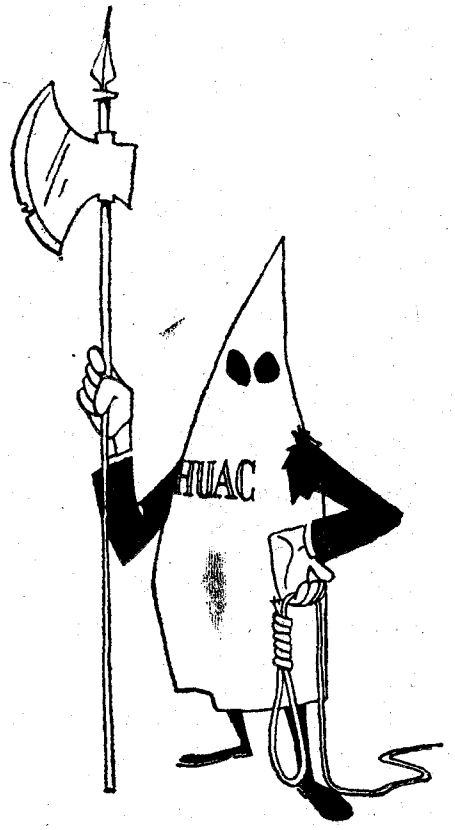
Liberals to the Foxholes

Or take another recent example. A group of liberal Democratic Congressmen get together to hear lectures from intellectuals on the state of the nation, on the dead ends to which we have come in foreign and domestic policy, on the possibility of new approaches. The lectures are finally collected and published in a book called *The Liberal Papers.* Immediately, Ev and Charlie, those orotund stars of the Republican bedtime show, begin to trumpet that this is clear and present proof that some dastardly subversives are insinuating their ideas into the White House. There is nothing in *The Liberal Papers,* if one troubles to read it, except the exercise of some elementary common sense and the endeavor to apply the human mind to human problems. But what happens? Except for James Roosevelt, who had written a foreword, and a couple of others, the liberals who had listened to the lectures all dived for their foxholes and tried to divorce themselves from any connection with such a suspect enterprise.

It stands to reason that the America of tomorrow is not going to be a free America, able to seek and study the facts, to argue and reason upon their basis, if the warriors who should be battling for such rights flee into the underbrush at the first ranting war whoop from the Gentlemen from Indiana and Illinois.

The Results Show

With liberals concerned primarily with self-defense and self-preservation, fighting under the noble banner of a Lyndon Johnson type of accommodation with everybody, the atmosphere that is being created in America is the handiwork of the Respectable-Radical Right. The demonstrated power of this combine is such that, if it continues unchecked, what happened in Europe could well happen in the United States. The trend is visibly present in our everyday life, and it has caused concern to many responsible and



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thoughtful groups. In a special report last October, for example, the National Council of Jewish Women noted the manner in which Radical Right "groups have secured the participation of influential citizens," and it listed significant barometers of the mood of the country in these words:

> ...In some communities of the South, where the resurgent Right is strong, public-affairs study groups are hesitating to continue holding meetings.
>
> ...In Fairlawn, N. J., after some teen-agers booed a showing of *Operation Abolition* in their high school, an investigation of possible un-American activities at the school was launched. The right to study the records of the boys was demanded and secured from the principal, and pro-Communist coincidence in classes they attended or in the backgrounds of their teachers was sought. Nothing was found.
>
> ...In a Southwestern city, a community chest director received a letter from a woman who had contributed $150 annually. She declared she would not give this year because the fund supports a "Communist" organization—the mental health group.
>
> ...In Seattle, leading ex-football players have lent their names to a new group being formed to "protect kids from subversion of American ideas." A showing of *Operation Abolition* highlighted its formative meeting.
>
> * * *
>
> ...Businessmen contributing to United Nations groups or to universities viewed unfavorably are threatened with "exposure" as Communists.
>
> ...Teachers and librarians are smeared on occasion for not "going along."
>
> * * *
>
> This pattern is not universal, but it is happening in a significant number of places. Where it does, people are looking over their shoulders before they do anything; they are afraid of being attacked.

What a picture of a bold, dynamic, new America! A land full of people twisting their necks to look backward over their shoulders! A land full of people fearful of their own thoughts lest, if they utter them, they be "attacked!" One gets the picture of a society of sheep plodding steadily forward into the shadow of nuclear holocaust while looking fixedly backward to make sure its rear is protected. It is an inspiring thought, is it not?

Yet this is the kind of world that the Respectable-Radical Right determinedly is building. And it shows no intention, despite the patent idiocies of Robert Welch, of desisting in the endeavor. Its motive and its determination show clearly in its latest tactic — the labeling of anyone who opposes rabid anti-communism as an "anti-anti-Communist" subversive who is either directly or indirectly under the influence of Moscow.

The New Smear

Col. William R. Kintner, deputy director of the Richardson-financed Foreign Policy Research Institute and one of the authors of that "Forward Strategy" that projects a Catonic war, has been one of the bellwethers in this sterling new endeavor. In a *Reader's Digest* article in May, 1962, he proclaimed in his opening sentences: "An insidious, Moscow-fed campaign to bleed the life out of anti-communism in America is now beginning to pay off. Within the past year, it has created such a climate of distrust and confusion that scores of reputable anti-Communist authorities find themselves tainted, suspect, under vicious attack."

The purpose was expressed less suavely, but perhaps more clearly, by Edward Hunter, a writer and former investigator for Joe McCarthy. Hunter fired the first barrage of the "anti-anti-Communist" forces last summer when he took the stand before the House Un-American Activities Committee in the aftermath of Senator Fulbright's memorandum on the collaboration of the Military with the Radical Right. This spring, in a harangue to right-wing extremists seeking amalgamation at a meeting in Washington, he was still pounding the same theme. One and all must beware of Communist traps, Hunter warned, and he identified one of these as "the sudden and vicious attacks on the John Birch Society."

"Be sure," the father of anti-anti-communism told his audience, "*not*

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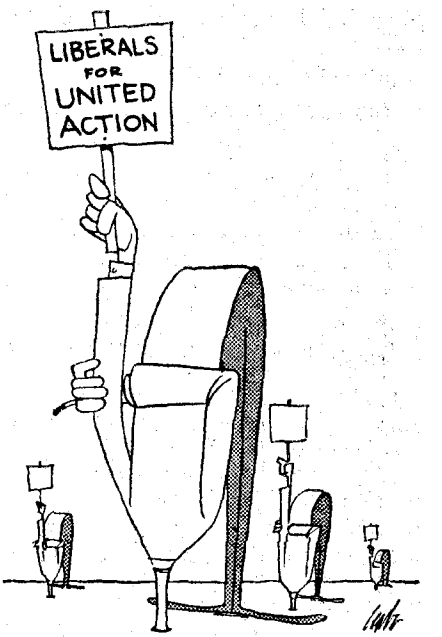
to participate in any issue which the Communists *may* be exploiting." (Italics added.)

This injunction, if heeded, obviously closes the door on each and every issue. Obviously, the only safe thing to do is never to open your mouth, for if you open it and happen to voice a thought that *may* coincide with some devious Communist thought, well, brother, you have had it. In this type of atmosphere, only one type of thought is safe, and only the demagogues of anti-communism may safely speak.

A Strange America

Is this America? If it is, it certainly isn't the America of the founding fathers, who dared to proclaim that "the natural rights of man" were more important than the rights of any king, who dared risk the stigma of treason in their day to speak, to agitate, to break finally with the past in search of new freedoms. If they had spent their time looking backwards over their shoulders and wondering whether it was safe to speak their thoughts, this nation never would have been born.



It is because this is so obvious that the retreat of liberals into their foxholes has been infuriating. Theirs should be the attack. All American precedent is loaded on their side. The most precious heritage of the nation, the freedom to think and believe, and to express one's beliefs without fear or favor, is theirs to defend. It is high time that liberals stopped worrying about communism and anti-communism, a phony issue in this country if there ever was one; it is high time that they began tagging the super-patriots in high places and low who are fathering the campaigns of propaganda and fear and suspicion that tread on the most sacred American rights and violate the most sacred American ideals. As their creed in such an endeavor, the liberals could do far worse than adopt the grass-roots philosophy of a virtually unknown rural California judge, as expounded in a speech this year to the northern section of the California Teachers Association at Fort Jones.

A Judge's Credo

Judge J. E. Barr sits on the bench of the Siskiyou Superior Court. Siskiyou County is one of the wildest, least tamed areas of California—6,312 square miles in size, total population only 32,885, or some 5.2 persons per square mile. This is "way out," wilderness country; but Judge Barr, in as cogent a bit of reasoning as could be found in any so-

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phisticated city in the land, demolished the Radical Right and its super-patriotic pretenses.

> When difficulties appear insoluble [he said], it is easy to rationalize that the condition in which a society finds itself is due to the stupidity or defects of one's neighbors. If one of the dangers confronting society is from external force, all too often this is rationalized as being due to the disloyalty of everyone except one's self.

Historical Parallels

The judge cited historical parallels. He noted that, as Athens' power declined and she was beset by foreign enemies in the last fifteen years of the fourth century B.C., a "surge of suspicion of subversion" swept over the city that had been and remains the most shining example of Greek culture.

> The reaction of the Athenians to what they regarded as insoluble problems was very much the reaction of the John Birchers today [Judge Barr said]. They brought to trial and banished Xenophon, one of their few successful generals. Shortly before that they had banished Alcibiades and later Thucydides, their two admirals who had brought victory before they were overwhelmed with defeat ending the Peloponnesian War. The suspicion of these ancient far righters then fell upon Socrates, one of the greatest minds of all times. His sin, in their view, was that he was a non-conformist, a questioner of facts, and particularly that he, in a case involving a hysterical court which convicted eight generals of treason without due process, demanded that they have a fair trial.

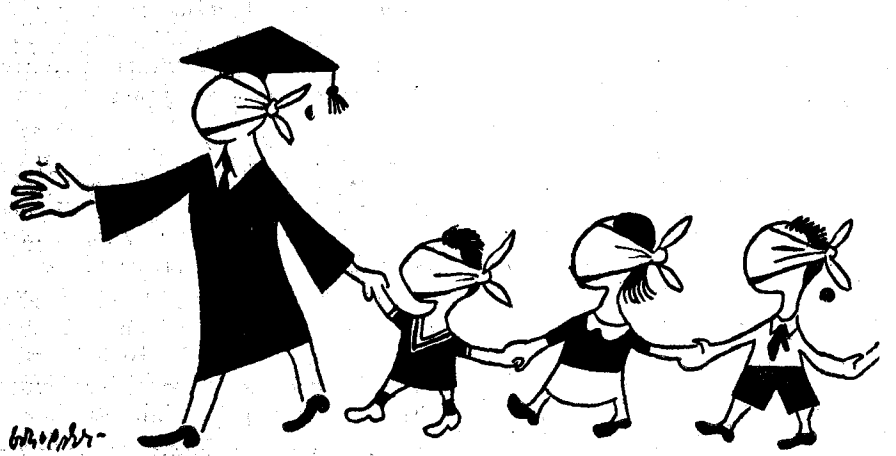
This placed Socrates in about the same position as the present-day liberal who insists that persons appearing before the House Un-American Activities Committee be treated fairly. He was tried by a special court of 501 jurors, found guilty of subverting youth and the gods, and executed.

Now the alarming thing about this parallel was that this persecution was not by a tyrant; it was in a democracy, or more probably a broadly based oligarchy. . . . It was perhaps more democratic than in some counties and Congressional districts of our deep South this very day.

Another alarming and characteristic parallel is that the chief victims were the intellectuals. . . . The right-winger, when he becomes crazed with fear, will invariably strike out at the intellectuals whom he cannot understand and whose non-conformity he must, in his terror, equate with treason.

Gagging the Teachers

After citing other historic parallels, Judge Barr drew a steady bead on the House Un-American Activities Committee which, he said, had come into California, subpoenaed 116 teachers, and then called off its hearing, leaving these teachers tarred by its innuendo and wrecking "God only knows how many careers." The following year, when the House committee held hearings in San Francisco, student riots erupted in protest of its tactics, and these were chronicled as a deep-dyed Communist conspiracy in its film, *Operation Abolition*. Pressure by liberal and Catholic Church groups, Judge Barr noted, had forced even Chairman Francis E. Walter to admit that the film was "contrived." The tactics, the judge told his teacher-audience, were not unknown in



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pre-World War II Europe, and he continued:

> Time does not permit any particular discussion of the character-assassination of these teachers [the spattered 116] except to point out that the profession, in California, displayed a startling lack of guts in not backing up the students who were libeled when they demonstrated against this reprehensible and un-American conduct. After all, there was a serious attempt made by the rascals of the extreme Right to impugn the loyalty of over 2,000 Bay Area students.
>
> To reiterate, however, as long as this Rightist hysteria continues you school people must stand up and be counted or you will be shoved into a position where you dare not discuss, or teach, or mention, either in a schoolroom or in private life, any subject except possibly a timid opinion on who is going to win the World Series.

Judge Barr, of course, was talking to a teacher group, but what he said applies to every American. "Guts" is the real issue. We must all, in the judge's words, "stand up and be counted." —THE END

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LETTERS

(*Continued from inside front cover*)

condition of continued life, and that the collective people is as easily diverted from its own survival as are its representatives now in power. And just who is it who will be empowered to force men to live? We must learn to face the fact that fateful decisions are already being made for and not by the people. There is a functioning machine in Washington that will carry us all to the destination it chooses. Kennedy chooses not to lead a national discussion of that destination while he does choose to resume nuclear testing. Maybe we need a new and more cynical definition of democracy.

Clumsiness and even a measure of paralysis were built into the American political machine by the founding fathers. So afraid of an abuse of power were they that they gave their best thoughts to methods which would almost automatically frustrate any tendency toward a consolidation of power. They were afraid of a hypertrophy of power, and we seem to be faced with an atrophy of thought. Well, life goes on until death, and it is understandable that passion can be expended on so worthy a cause as medical care for the aged under social security, while the problems of physical security for all ages is hardly debated. It may be that the awkwardness of our political process, coupled with either the unwillingness or inability of American politicians to face the issue of death squarely, are simply facts of American life. It may also be that the people's great democratic voice is similarly disabled. One hopes that the traditional liberal sport of advocating sweeping changes in the form of government along some more cleverly designed lines has now been relegated to a harmless parlor game. I think that, because of the pressure of time, the American Government as presently constituted will be compelled to decide between life and death. Vested interests, the monumental stake the economy has in the political *status quo,* and the general complaisance of the electorate all contribute to making the liberal's commitment to significant political change seem other-worldly and alchemical.

If those traditional solutions are now not relevant, we must learn to look elsewhere for a way out of death. There is no place left where one can look except inward, and this may mean that death will come. The individual is now thrown on his own resources in a radical way.

* * *

It is, I suppose, reassuring to remind oneself that only individuals are capable of thought. Perhaps someone, somewhere, can generate enough piety to assert that if enough individuals do enough serious thinking, a way to life might actually emerge. Even though such a position now requires faith because of the cruel lack of evidence, it may actually prove to be the case. We cannot now know. In any case individuals will think, and they must also think about the possibility that their thoughts will not affect their own future or that of the world one way or the other.

I do not mean for this to have the ring of despair. It is clear that this new possibility of death has all of the standard ingredients of tragedy, but a tragedy that must be lived through instead of merely observed. From this one should take hope. Perhaps not much hope, but some at least. For it is possible that with a sense of the tragic, of the limits of the possible, of the meaning and therefore danger of human fallibility, men may find themselves in a more realistic confrontation with other men. That added realism may help them to solve or compromise some of their serious differences. It may not. There is no guarantee that either virtue or wisdom will prevail, just as there is no guarantee that an individual may change the course of history by his understanding the hope that inheres in tragedy. The only guarantee that I can find is that the continued pretense that affluence really matters in a death house will earn a reprieve for no one. If death is not

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seen as an end to life, confusion is naturally inevitable. We are faced with nothing less than the necessity to think our way out of death. This is the way of neurosis, I'm sure, and perhaps we are now reduced to the choice between sickness and death. At the moment, the sickness seems somewhat less irrevocable than the alternative. LOREN BARITZ

Dept. of History, Roosevelt U.
Chicago, Ill.

Dear Sirs: Carey McWilliams' essay, "Time for a New Politics," is a brilliant diagnosis of what ails our politics. McCarthyism, the disappearance of the Left, the mismanagement of the Right, the timidity of liberals, the adoption by the Center of Madison Avenue techniques — all of these, taken together, have in the last decade cheapened and distorted our political dialogue while increasing its volume to a loud but monotonous roar. The prize example, I think, is the Kennedy-Nixon TV debates of 1960. These became an exercise in showmanship; issues were muddied rather than clarified; and most of the real ones were passed over because they lacked sex appeal, while false ones (like Quemoy and Matsu), were contrived almost as if by conspiracy of the candidates.

It is a little difficult to see how the dialogue can be reconstituted under present circumstances. As McWilliams points out, Kennedy Democrats occupy a wide Center position. They are joined there — not really opposed — by Javits-Cooper-Kuchel Republicans. The so-called Left consists of small bands of liberals such as A.D.A. and the Walter Reuther group in the AFL-CIO. While these are technically to the "left" of the Administration, their challenge is mild because their differences are small and their political power very limited. . . .

If the Left is weak, so is the Right. It is true that the far Right (the John Birch Society, et al.) is well financed and its ability to intimidate and/or neutralize opponents should not be underestimated. However, there is no sign that it can win any elections and unless the GOP wants to commit political suicide, it is unlikely that right-wingers will take over active control of the party. In any case, the GOP is likely to remain a minority party for years to come.

All of this is clear indication of a deficiency in the "liberal-conservative tensions" which McWilliams correctly notes is "required in order to generate the energies that propel the system (of representative government)." Not only is the Center fully in control of the body politic, but its elected representatives, whether Democratic or Republican, have mastered the new arts of political salesmanship to such a degree that one wonders if, short of war or revolution, they will ever be supplanted in office. . . .

This is of course equally true of the Republican Eisenhower and the Democratic Kennedy, along with their host of imitators — all have consummately mastered Madison Avenue selling techniques and adapted them successfully to the uses of politics. What is most lamentable about this development is that it further diminishes the political dialogue. If the weakening of the legitimate forces of the Left and Right reduces the "tension" of the dialogue, the coaching of candidates and officeholders in Madison Avenue techniques has tended to turn the dialogue into a competitive sales pitch. In this supermarket arena of politics, everyone and everything is "labeled," with the labels denoting purity and virtue on the one hand and vice on the other. In such a lexicon one has only to substitute the term "anti-Communist" for "detergent" and everything else falls into place! It is not necessary to belabor the point because it is clear enough that the language of quick sales is ill-adapted to a serious discussion of the *real* issues of the day, issues which McWilliams notes pertain to the vast changes wrought by the scientific revolution.

How to restore ideological vitality to our politics and unspring it from its semantic trap is the major political question of today, one whose underlying importance surpasses all others.

GIFFORD PHILLIPS
Publisher, *Frontier*
Los Angeles, Calif.

Dear Sirs: If there is to be a new politics, able to cope with the consequences of the scientific revolution, it can come about only if there is more of a sense of the person, and less preoccupation with ideology. . . .

The key to social and political capacity to cope with the scientific revolution cannot be found by the pursuit of victory for one or another of the contending ideologies (the process of winning victory only further buries the individual within the conquering ideology), nor is it to be found within science itself. Science has confronted us with the problem of how to use new powers. But the powers belong to us, and not to some abstract thing called science. The problem exists not because of the nature of science, but because of the nature of our relationships with one another and our attitudes toward ourselves.

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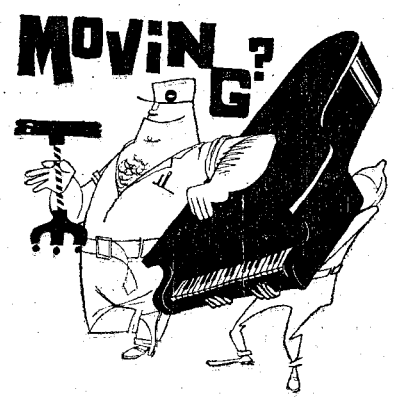
ourselves into being rational. We cannot psychoanalyze ourselves into a state of mass mental health. Unless a new impulse begins to work through us at the depth of faith, courage and trust it is certain that we shall be destroyed — if not by the bomb, then by our own fears, suspicions and apathies.

I have seen two movements of social change in my life. The first was the rise of the C.I.O. The second is the integration movement. Each depended at its core on men, women and children who had caught a new vision of themselves and the future and were able to stake their lives on it.

When, in this present crisis, young people and old begin to catch a vision of themselves and the future, with all its new possibilities, a new politics will become possible. It will be possible to tackle the real problems: the problem of the nation-state in a day when sovereignty cannot be national; the problem of social power in a day when military weapons are irrelevant to constructive purpose; the problem of the distribution of goods in a day when a relative few can produce plenty for all; the problem of a sense of common humanity when nations of people in blocs are standing ready to kill one another.

The new politics will involve vast social change. It certainly cannot come unless there are people who are willing to sacrifice everything that they have and to endure great hardship for the sake of their new estimate of themselves and the future. STEWART MEACHAM
Philadelphia, Pa.



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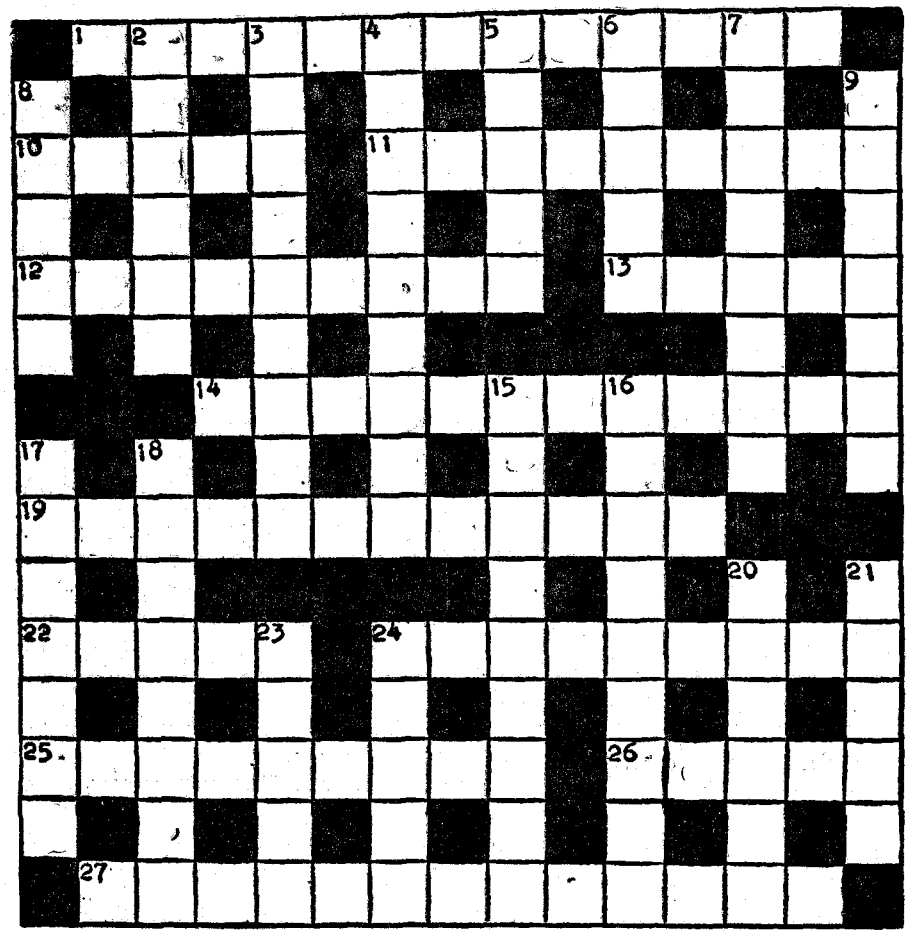
Crossword Puzzle No. 969

By FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS:

1 The reception given by such a non-fast set might be dependent on one's station. (8, 5)
10 Do those who show up with such a draft notice have to have pull? (2, 3)
11 A mandarin, in person? (Possibly from the Free State!) (9)
12 Cook might have grabbed this up in Texas! (9)
13 You might believe in it, any way. (5)
14 See 17 down.
19 An unruly super-booster should be hard to handle. (12)
22 Proving there's a grain of the French spirit here. (5)
24 Are the upper joints used in making them at pool? (4, 5)
25 Between today and tomorrow, and between summer and winter — it happens every 24 hours, more or less. (9)
26 Ten palefaces, descriptively, from Keokuk? (5)
27 The Freshman-Sophomore flag rush? (5, 8)

DOWN:

2 If you get cracking, you might wind up with such a rating. (6)
3 What to do to cut in? (9)
4 Though broken, such a record might still remain standing. (5, 4)
5 Get around the First Lady who takes our years to heart. (5)
6 This is certainly a peculiar language. (5)
7 Overhanging. (8)
8 What gets wound up in circles? (5)
9 Something different, but you might have no heart for it. (7)
15 An exceptional soldier? (9)
16 Going off to bed, no doubt! (9)
17 and 14 across Homer, if you knew him slightly? (7, 12)
18 Part of the column appearing in a rag last? (8)
20 Does one have to own something to make one? (6)
21 Employing a high-class Mitch program? (5)
23 These must be small items, certainly. (5)
24 Loads things out of phase? (5)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 968

ACROSS: 1 Suppliants; 6 Stop; 10 Colombo; 11 Uxorial; 12 Poultry markets; 14 Aberdeen; 15 Affect; 16 Tea bag; 18 Fishwife; 22 One for the money; 24 Upsurge; 25 Rangier; 26 Days; 27 Stitchings. DOWN: 1 Sycophants; 2 Pollute; 3 Limited warfare; 4 Acolyte; 5 Toucan; 7 Thistle; 8 Pale; 9 Book of the Month; 13 Steelyards; 17 Amnesty; 19 Inherit; 20 Inn sign; 21 Urgent.

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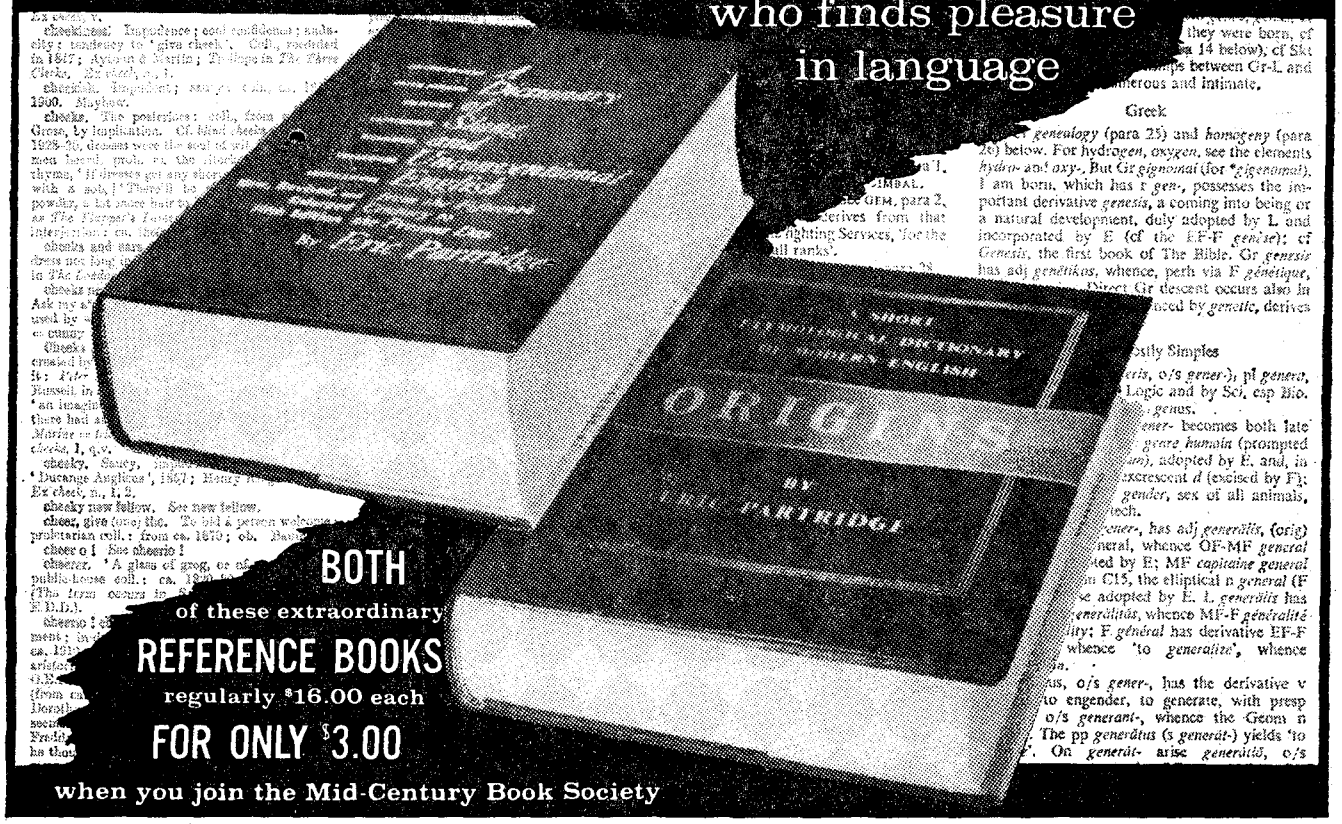

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